LIVY,

BOOK XXI.

TEXT AND NOTES

LIVY: BOOK XXI.

LL
L 7888 A1B

LIVY: BOOK XXI.

EDITED BY

A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon.

EDITOR OF CAESAR'S GALLIC WAR, HORACE' ODES, VERGIL'S AENEID, ETC.

AND

W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond. and Camb.

PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SOUTHAMPTON, AND FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

227176
20.11.28

London: W. B. CLIVE

University Tutorial Press Ld.

High St., New Oxford St., W.C.

INTRODUCTION.

I.—LIFE AND METHOD OF LIVY.

Titus Livius was born at **Patavium** (Padua), whence he took his cognomen of Patavinus, between the years **59** and **57** B.C. The exact date is uncertain. He was probably of good family, to judge from the aristocratic tone of his writings, and from the fact that the C. Cornelius who took the auspices before the battle of Pharsalia (48 B.C.) was a relative of his. At Patavium, the populous and busy town of the Veneti in the eastern district of Trans-Padane Gaul, near the mouth of the Po, he probably learned to declaim in public, as was usual; but he early moved to Rome, where he spent much of his life, dying at his native place in 17 A.D. at the age of about 75. His first books (I.—X.) are supposed to have been published before 20 B.C., and from that date to his death he was unceasingly busy with his work. He was a friend of the Emperor Augustus, although himself one who regretted the Republic and applauded Caesar's murderers. He seems to have had nothing to do with politics, and was so enabled to devote all his time to the task before him. Augustus' accession closed the history of Republican Rome. Livy volunteered to systematise that history—the history of 700 years. Livy is the first Latin historian, with the exception of Caesar, whose works have come down to us to any large extent. There are 30 books still extant, together with portions of 5 others, and an epitome of the whole up to the 142nd book. To write the History of Rome from her

foundation to the time of Augustus was no light task, and Livy had intended to complete it in 15 parts of 10 books each, or a total of 150 books. It is probable that the last 8 books were never written.

There were no models of style for him to imitate. As yet, history was a crude subject with the Romans. Thus far it had been recorded mainly as "Fasti," that is, year-by-year records of the elections, names of the consuls, religious matters, and the principal events of national importance. Traces of this survive in Livy's arrangement of his history by years, a habit which continues even down to Tacitus' time at the end of the first century A.D. It must be remembered that dates were fixed by the names of the consuls, and that there was no other recognised method of keeping count of time.

This division of history into years prevents any continuous history in which the cause and sequence of events is properly indicated. As yet, there was no such thing as a Philosophical History of Rome.

Livy was no critic. He compiled his work freely from various sources, including almost all previous annalists. He omitted what he chose to regard as needless; and, in accordance with the Roman custom, he rarely mentions his authority for a borrowed passage. Very rarely too does he raise alternative views or debate dubious points, as in the account of the Embassy to Saguntum and of the outbreak of the Boian War of 219 B.C. (see caps. xv., § 3; xxv., § 4.)

He did not care to verify by personal observation difficulties of geography. Nor was he an antiquarian, though the monuments of a nation are amongst the surest and most essential data of its history.

His aim was to give, without excess of detail and with no systematic criticism, the *annales* of Rome from first to last as a readable whole. In this he certainly succeeded, and his work remained, to Rome's latest days, one of *the* books of the nation. But he was a poet and a *raconteur* rather than a writer of history, and he cares more for polished style and taking passages than for accuracy of detail and scientific continuity.

II.—CARTHAGE.

(*a*) **Its Position.**

The city of Carthage, now desolate, stood upon the western shore of the Bay of Tunis, a few miles southward from the estuary of the Bagradas (Mejerda). It was thus due west of the southernmost point of Sicily (Pachynum); while Selinus on the S.W. coast of that island was distant only ninety miles from the Heraean promontory (C. Bon), which forms the eastern side of the Bay of Tunis.

The Bay of Tunis is one of the few safe harbours on the north coast of Africa. The coast-line from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Bagradas runs eastward with very few indentations. Beyond the Heraean headland it turns abruptly southward toward the modern kingdom of Tripoli, thus forming the great curve known to the ancients as the *Syrtes* (or "Drifts"). From thence to Suez the coast is only broken by the headland of Cyrene and the delta of the Nile.

The peninsula of Italy, Sicily, and the Cape of Bon, form as it were the waist of the Mediterranean Sea, which opens out to the east into the Ionian and Aegean Seas, and to the west into the Mare Tyrrhenum or Inferum. Carthage was thus situated in the best possible position for commanding alike the eastern and western waters, and the trade of Europe, Asia, and Africa, at one and the same time; and herein lay the cause of her early prosperity and her mighty resources.

(*b*) **The Soil, Climate, &c.**

The whole area of North Africa, from Cyrene, a Greek colony on the N.W. of Egypt, to the base of C. Bon, is a sandy desert, admitting only of a very narrow margin of cultivated coast-line. Tunis, however, and the districts to the west of Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco (Numidia and Mauretania) are of a different stamp. Pliny records that the soil of Carthage yielded often 150-fold; and to this

day, amid wretched cultivation, phenomenal harvests are not uncommon. There are numerous rivers in this western region, though Tripoli and the eastern shores are almost destitute of water. The general barrenness of Africa and the contrasted fertility of Cyrene and Carthage were proverbial amongst the ancients. And while in Tripoli and Cyrenaica rain is a precious rarity, at Carthage and to the westward there is at least a sufficiency. There still remain, however, on the site of the city, a series of enormous rock-hewn cisterns which prove at once the need of economising water, and the sagacity and engineering skill of the ancient Carthaginians.

(*c*) **The Town.**

The oldest portion of the town was, as usually happens, the citadel, Bosra (from the Canaanitish, = a fort), or, as the Latins called it, Byrsa. This was on rising ground by the seashore, overlooking the Cothon, or harbour district. To the north and west of the Byrsa lay the city proper, Megara (Hebr. Magurim), and the whole circumference of the ancient city was three and twenty miles. Its population, late on in history, immediately before the third and last war with Rome, was 700,000; and when at the close of that war it was sacked and fired by the Romans, its ruins burned unceasingly for ten days.

(*d*) **Its Origin.**

Herodotus says that the Phoenicians emigrated from the head of the Persian Gulf and founded Tyre about the year 2800 B.C.; and there is no reason to doubt his story. From Tyre they spread at first north and south along the coast of the Levant, and gave the name of Phoenicia to that region—a region which never exceeded 150 miles in length and 30 in its widest breadth, but averaged rather less than 5 miles in width. They never attempted to gain an inland power. Trade was their one object, and so long as they were left at liberty to trade they cared little whether they were subject to Assyria or Egypt, or any other great Eastern Power. From Phoenicia they sailed to all parts of the Mediterranean. They planted their factories (or trad-

ing stations) in Egypt, in the islands of the Aegean Sea, on the coast of Asia Minor, in the Black Sea, and upon the mainland of Greece. By the year 1500 B.C. they had factories as far west as Sicily and Italy; and in 1140 B.C., they founded Utica a few miles to the north of the site of Carthage. About 1000 B.C. was founded their factory at Gades (Cadiz); and round that centre grew up a wide and prosperous commerce, and a semi-Phoenician district known to the Hebrews as Tarshish. In 853 B.C. a party of them, being exiled for political reasons from Tyre, fled to Africa, and there founded the city of Carthage. According to Vergil, Sychaeus, King of Tyre, was murdered by his half-brother Pygmalion, who usurped the throne, and by his persecutions drove into exile Elissar (Elissa, or Dido), the widow of Sychaeus, and her adherents. The legend probably contains the truth that there was a party-quarrel in Tyre, and that one of the factions was forced to fly.

(*e*) **The People.**

From 1000-700 B.C. the trade of the Aegean was in the hands of the Phoenicians. For land empire they cared nothing so long as they were allowed the freedom of the sea; nor did they abuse this freedom by indiscriminate piracy, albeit they were addicted to kidnapping and to the slave-trade. Even when the Greeks, imitating the example of the Phoenicians, gradually monopolised the trade of the Eastern Mediterranean, the latter people declined to fight for their interests, and withdrew gradually without a struggle. Mining was their great object, and they had already worked out most of the gold mines in that quarter, such as those of Thasos. Moreover, the Western Mediterranean was still virgin ground, and thither they turned their vessels, colonising Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles. They even passed the Pillars of Hercules and traded to the Scilly Isles and Cornwall for tin and copper, to the Baltic for amber, and to the Canary Islands for spices, &c. So famous were their seamen for hardihood and skill that when, about the year 600 B.C., Necho King of Egypt desired to know the limits of Africa, he commissioned a party of Phoenicians to circumnavigate

the continent; which they did, sailing southward from the Red Sea and passing the "Cape of Storms" 2000 years before Vasco de Gama's time.

The Carthaginians retained all the characteristics of their ancestors; but towards 600 B.C. they found themselves threatened with the loss of their trade in the Western seas. The Greeks in Sicily and Magna Graecia began to usurp much of the commerce of the West; and in defence of their interests the Carthaginians for the first time were compelled to fight. They made an alliance with the Etruscans, the great naval and piratical Power of Northern Italy; and maintained a long and bloody struggle with the Greeks headed by Syracuse. They were forced, however, to retire to the westernmost parts of Sicily, where they retained the fortresses of Soloeis, Motye, and Panormus. In 474 B.C., Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, defeated a combined fleet of Carthaginians and Etruscans off the coast of Campania; and there is still to be seen in the British Museum the helmet of one of his vanquished foes, which he dedicated at Olympia in memory of his victory. The Etruscan power was now declining before the growing strength of Rome, with which state Carthage had already made a treaty for commercial purposes as early as 509 B.C., the very year in which the expulsion of the Tarquins led to the final breach between Rome and Etruria. This treaty was renewed, with modifications, in 348 B.C., and again in 279 B.C., when Pyrrhus was in Italy.

(*f*) Government and Constitution.

As colonists from Tyre, the Carthaginians imitated in the main the institutions of the mother-country, particularly in religion. Their gods were Moloch, Baal, Melcarth (Hercules), and the Phoenician Venus, Astarte. In government, the cities of Phoenicia seem to have been a loose confederacy of independent kingdoms or oligarchies, holding conventions from time to time at an appointed centre. Carthage adopted the **Oligarchic** government; and the original settlers were doubtless the founders of a Patriciate of the ancient families, corresponding to the patrician *gentes* of Rome. Theoretically

the **popular assembly** had a right to discuss more important questions of government; but over this a **Senate of 300**, and over them again a smaller **Council of 100**, had complete control. The latter body is stated to have been created expressly to prevent any one citizen from becoming too powerful, a contingency which was proved by the examples of Hamilcar and Hannibal to be not unlikely. Besides these various assemblies there were a board of five State officials, a Commander-in-Chief, and two Judges (**Suffetes**; from the Hebr. *Shophet*, a judge), who had religious as well as judicial functions and presided at meetings of the Senate. They were appointed conjointly by the Senate and the people.

At the time of the first and second Punic Wars, the government was in the hands of two great patrician families, that of **Hamilcar**, the Barcines or war-party, and that of **Hanno**, the peace-party or Romanizers. The latter were at violent feud with the former, particularly after the mercenary war in which Hamilcar had been preferred to Hanno as Commander-in-Chief.

III.—CARTHAGE AND ROME.

The first battlefield of Carthaginians and Romans was **Sicily**. For two centuries (*c.* 500—300 B.C.) the former had been fruitlessly endeavouring to drive the Greek colonists out of the island. In the year of the battle of Salamis, when Xerxes and the power of Persia were distracting the attention of the Grecian States at home, the Carthaginians had chosen their opportunity to make a gigantic attempt upon Sicily. But at that date Syracuse was the strongest of any existing Grecian State, and at the battle of Himera (p. x) Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, was general of the Sicilian Greeks. Again in 339 B.C. Timoleon the Corinthian cleared the island by his great victory on the Crimessus; and when, after his death, the Carthaginians once more attacked Syracuse, Agathocles turned the tables upon them by invading Africa, where he ravaged the whole province of Carthage for four years, supported by the revolted African tribes (310—307 B.C.).

A desultory series of hostilities followed until 264 B.C., when another Hiero was tyrant of Syracuse.

Some Campanian mercenaries—*Mamertines*, or "Children of Mars," as they called themselves—had seized the town of Messina, upon the Straits of Messina. Hiero made war upon them; and, unable to resist, the Mamertines were divided in mind. One party was in favour of calling in the aid of Rome; the other, that of Carthage. The latter prevailed for a little while; but the Romanizing party soon recovered the ascendancy, and in their turn sent off an embassy to beg for help. By the time that it reached the Senate, Carthage had already come into the field. So good an opportunity of getting the *entrée* of Sicily was not to be lost. The Romans warned the Carthaginians to keep their hands off, while the latter prepared to defend their rights. Thus the two nations went to war to decide which was to have the privilege of chastising Syracuse.

The **First Punic War** began in 264 B.C., and ended in 241 B.C., after a struggle of twenty-four years. The whole scene of action was the island of Sicily and the neighbouring seas, with the exception of Regulus' brief campaign in Africa. At the outset of hostilities the Romans found their supplies threatened, their commerce destroyed, their coast-lines insulted, and their sieges rendered useless, by the fleets of Carthage which commanded the sea. Hitherto Rome had had no fleet. She now determined to build one; and by good fortune won the battle of Mylae (260 B.C.). But seamen cannot be trained in a day. Fleet after fleet was wrecked or defeated; and, disheartened by disasters, the Roman efforts were again confined to a land-warfare. In 255 B.C. Regulus attempted to transfer the war, as Agathocles had done, to Africa. His success at first was immense; but, growing over-confident, he was completely defeated by Xanthippus, and himself taken prisoner. Every one knows the story of his being sent to Rome to sue for peace, of his refusing to enter the city, and his advising the Senate to reject the Carthaginian overtures, although he knew his conduct would cost him his life.

Then followed a weary succession of sieges, at Lilybæum (250) and Drepanum (248), in which the Romans gradually prevailed, but only at immense cost of blood and time. But even here they were foiled at last by the sudden appearance of Hamilcar Barca as General of the Carthaginians (247 B.C.). He seized the fortresses of Ercte and Eryx, where, with his fleet to keep open his communications, he could defy the Roman blockades and siege trains. For five years he did so: and then in despair the Romans made one last effort for the sea. They built a new fleet, and with it C. Lutatius, the consul of 241 B.C., won the battle of the *Aegates Insulæ*, and so cut off Hamilcar's supplies. Resistance was useless now, and Hamilcar submitted. A treaty was agreed upon by himself and Lutatius, by which Carthage was to evacuate Sicily, give up all Roman prisoners of war, and pay in twenty years 2,200 talents[1] as an indemnity. By the constitution of Rome, the power of making war and peace rested only with the Senate and the people conjointly. Hence the treaty of Lutatius was not accepted; and a new treaty was arranged by which the indemnity was raised to 3,200 talents[2] to be paid in ten years, the other stipulations remaining the same. The Carthaginians and Romans were to be allies, defensive and offensive, and neither should make war upon the allies of the other.

The Romans had been in the wrong in attacking Carthage; and they tried to gloss over their misdoing by alleging as the cause of the war the fact that a Carthaginian squadron had appeared off Tarentum in 272 B.C. in defiance of the treaty of 279 B.C. Polybius, however, says that that treaty contained no clause to prevent the Carthaginians from appearing in Italian waters; and in any case, it was unlikely that a war would have been commenced to revenge an insult committed eight years before, and hitherto unmentioned. This is the view taken by Hanno in his speech (cap. x., § 8) advocating the surrender of Hannibal.

[1] £536,250. [2] £780,000.

IV.—THE MERCENARY WAR.

The Carthaginians, like all the Phoenicians, were too strictly a mercantile people to have any national talent for war. That they could fight when at bay was amply proved by the terrible siege of Carthage in 146 B.C. Otherwise, they preferred to hire troops to do battle for them,—the savage tribes of Africa, Numidians, Moors, Liby-Phoenicians, Gaetulians; the scarcely less savage races of Spain; Ligurians and Gauls from the northern shores of the Gulfs of Lyons and Genoa; with Balearic slingers, Greeks, and, in general, the outcasts and runaways of all nations. The natural result was that the Carthaginian armies were almost as formidable to that State as to their enemies. To keep such a mob of lawless hirelings, without patriotism and without principles, under control, required not only sternness and tact, but a ready supply of money wherewith to pay them, and good fortune in war wherewith to provide them with plunder. Herein lay the secret of the defeats of Carthage. Her armies had no inducement but that of pay to stand by her; and hence too, when Hannibal garrisoned Spain and Africa in 218 B.C., he interchanged the troops of each continent, so that Africans were the guards of Spain, and European troops served in Africa. In this way he could be assured of the fidelity of each army; for each was in a manner at the mercy of the other.

At the close of the First Punic War there were present all the evils which usually induced discontent amid the mercenaries. The war had been unsuccessful, and the treasury was exhausted. They were hurt in pride and in pocket as well; and the discontent so roused was fanned to insurrection by Matho and Spendius, two ruffians of exceptional villany. The efforts of the Carthaginians to keep the mercenaries isolated were fruitless; and in a few months all Africa was overrun by their pillaging battalions. Meanwhile, Hanno and Hamilcar, whose career of success had been thwarted by the incompetence or ill-fortune of a namesake of the former, were quarrelling for the post of commander-in-chief, and nothing was done.

For two years the mercenaries did as they pleased, defeating army after army sent against them under incapable leaders. Carthage was on the brink of destruction when Hanno waived his opposition; and Hamilcar, taking the field at once and dividing the enemy's forces, crushed them utterly in the course of a few weeks (238 B.C.).

V.—ROMAN HISTORY BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND PUNIC WARS.

The First Punic War left Rome almost as exhausted as Carthage, and she was glad to rest for the three years of the Mercenary War. About that time the revolted mercenaries of **Sardinia** had been expelled by the Carthaginians, and they appealed to Rome for protection. Knowing that Carthage was too weak to resist, the Senate took their part, and threatened Carthage with immediate war unless she instantly surrendered Sardinia. This she was forced to do, and Hamilcar's hatred of Rome received a fresh impulse (Liv. xxi. 1), 237 B.C.

For three years more the Roman Empire was so peaceful that in 235 B.C. the temple of Janus was closed for the first time since the reign of Numa, that being the sign of universal peace. Six years later, however, a quarrel arose with **Illyria.** This country lay along the upper part of the east shore of the Adriatic, and was occupied by a nation of pirates, who plundered indiscriminately whatever vessels they could. In 230 B.C. Teuta, Queen-regent of Illyria, after seizing most of the islands in the upper Adriatic, laid siege to Issa, also an island town. Thereupon Rome sent C. and L. Coruncanius to warn her to desist. On her refusal, L. Coruncanius made some spiteful remark for which Teuta had him seized and put to death. She then captured Corcyra, and put in command there a Greek named Demetrius.

Meanwhile the Romans had declared war. Demetrius at once turned traitor and surrendered Corcyra; other towns made no resistance; and Teuta was stripped of much of her possessions and compelled to acknowledge

the traitor Demetrius as her superior and governor of Illyria, 228 B.C. The Histri, a petty tribe of Northern Illyria, sided in this war with the rest of the nation.

In 225 B.C. began the **Gallic War.** As early as 295 B.C. the Senonian Gauls had been annihilated at Sentinum; and twelve years later the Boians had been crushed at the battle of Vadimo (283 B.C.). Since then they had remained quiet, occupying the parts of upper Italy south of the Padus (Po), from Picenum and Umbria on the Adriatic, to the Gulf of Genoa. Two colonies had been sent out to the eastern district, Sena Gallica and Ariminum. This roused the jealousy of the Gauls; and when in 232 C. Flaminius, afterwards the commander at Trasimenus, proposed to distribute more of the Ager Gallicus amongst the poorer Roman citizens, the Gauls became rebellious. For four years the law was not put into effect: and it was not until 225 B.C. that the Boians, supported by the Insubres from Gallia Transpadana, and other Gauls from Gallia Narbonensis, made a raid into Etruria. At Fæsulæ, near Florence, they defeated a Roman Prætor; but shortly afterwards found themselves entrapped at Telamon, between the Consul Atilius, who had crossed from Sardinia to N. Etruria, and his colleague Aemilius Papus, who was following in their rear. A battle followed in which the Boians were almost annihilated; and in the next year all the Gauls south of the Po submitted, 224 B.C. Flaminius, consul in 223 B.C., invaded the Insubrian lands on the N. of the Po and won a battle, and in 222 B.C. Marcellus defeated and slew Viridomarus, the chief of the Insubres, captured their capital, Mediolanum (Milan), and reduced the whole region to peace. In 220 B.C. were founded the Coloniæ of Placentia on the S. and Cremona on the N. bank of the Po, and the Flaminian Way was constructed across the Ager Gallicus from Ariminum to Rome.

In 219 B.C. Demetrius again turned traitor. In one campaign (**Second Illyrian War**) he was forced to take refuge in Macedonia, a tribute was imposed upon Illyria, and Corcyra, Apollonia, and Dyrrachium were occupied by Roman garrisons. In this year was sent the embassy

to Hannibal (Liv. xxi. 6, 3; 9, 3), and **Saguntum** fell (Liv. xxi. 14).

VI.—THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN.

From exceedingly early times Carthage had secured a footing on the Spanish coast, where the old Tyrian colonies [see Introduction, ii. (*d*)] still flourished and would welcome the Carthaginians as kinsmen. But no attempt was made by the latter to attain any ascendancy of arms. They were satisfied to have right of free trade with any coast towns which offered a good market for their wares, —wrought metal, silver, gold, &c., and purple linen—in return for the raw gold of Tarshish, and other unwrought metals.

The loss of Sicily with its fertile cornlands, and the subsequent loss of Sardinia, a richly-metalled island, both combined to direct the thoughts of **Hamilcar** to some new vantage ground where he might at once build up a mainstay to the home-power in Carthage, and create a thorn in the flesh of the Roman Empire. He chose **Spain.** It was known to be rich in minerals, and hitherto undrained by any foreign conquest. Its people were warlike then as always; and if to subdue them would require a well-trained army, they would themselves, when conquered, provide the finest soldiery out of Italy. It was on sea that Carthage had lost the First Punic War. The second should be a war by land, and the Romans should have no chance of turning the fortunes of Hamilcar or his son by a single naval victory, as they had before done.

In 238 B.C., Hamilcar, victorious over the mercenaries, and preferred to his rival Hanno, but smarting with the loss of Sicily and Sardinia (Liv. xxi. i. 5), crossed to Spain. The rival faction probably rejoiced at his departure. If he was successful, he was still far away; if not successful, they would be well rid of an enemy. He did succeed. Generalship was hereditary amongst the Barcines; and Hamilcar maintained his reputation and name of "Lightning" by striking surely if seldom. In eight years he

conquered most of modern Andalusia and Murcia. The resistance offered may be gathered from the fact that some years later, when half of Spain had become Carthaginian, it cost Hannibal 22,000 men to subdue the few corner States at the E. foot of the Pyrenees. In 229 B.C. Hamilcar fell in a battle upon the banks of the Tagus.

He was succeeded by his son-in-law, **Hasdrubal.** Less by generalship than by policy, Hasdrubal pushed forward his father-in-law's work. He consolidated what was already conquered, and extended his possessions by amicable dealing with the border chieftains. With him the Senate concluded a treaty in 228 B.C., by which the Hiberus (Ebro) was fixed as the limit of Carthaginian extension. Hasdrubal, virtually an independent monarch, concluded this treaty on his own responsibility, and so gave opportunity to Carthage to repudiate it if she wished, on the principle followed in Roman treaties (see Introduction iii.). In the same year Hasdrubal centralised his power by the foundation of Carthago Nova (New Carthage) on the S.E. coast of Spain. This town, now Cartagena, became the capital of Carthaginian Spain. Hasdrubal fell in 221 B.C., assassinated by a native.

There was only one person to succeed to the now hereditary power in Spain. This was **Hannibal.** He had crossed to Spain with his father Hamilcar, after swearing at Carthage to be Rome's enemy for all his days. For sixteen years he had served in the army as a private soldier, roughing it with the roughest. He did not know what it was to be cold or sunburnt, tired or at a loss. He was always the first to begin, the last to quit a fight; and was always chosen for the exploits requiring the greatest courage and the clearest head. He possessed in a wonderful degree at once the "Lightning" generalship of his father and Hasdrubal's powers of diplomacy. He was now 26 years of age, the darling of the army and of the native Spaniards. A feeble effort was made by the faction of Hanno to prevent his accession to power; but in vain. To attempt his deposition would have been to provoke a civil war, and Carthage preferred to wait rather for the inevitable collision with Rome which this "firebrand of war" was bent upon bringing about.

In succession Hannibal overcame the Olcades, the Carpetani, and the Vaccæi, ravaging central Spain from the mountains of Castile to the Douro. A formidable coalition of the tribes in his rear, while himself was in the far N.W., was defeated in a bloody battle upon the Tagus. He then turned his attention to Saguntum.

Saguntum was an ancient Greek colony upon the E. coast, due W. of the Balearic Isles, now Murviedro. It had been founded by fugitives from Zacynthus, for which word Saguntum is the old-Latin equivalent; and it was said that some Rutulians from Ardea, the people of Virgil's Turnus, had joined the colony: a story probably invented to give Rome a pretence for blood-relationship with the Spanish town. By the treaty of 228 B.C. Saguntum was recognised as an ally of Rome, and was not to be molested. Hannibal was too wise to leave a well-fortified position in his rear, particularly one under Roman influence. He encouraged the surrounding tribes to quarrel with the Saguntines. The latter made reprisals. Hannibal was at once called in by the opposite party, headed by the Turdetani, a tribe near the adjacent coast; and declared war upon Saguntum, 219 B.C.

The Saguntines at once sent an embassy to Rome to beg for assistance. The Romans, imagining that mere threats were enough now, as they had been when Sardinia was surrendered, sent envoys to warn Hannibal to desist. The latter was already far on with the siege. He declined to see the envoys, and they crossed over to Carthage. Here too they were repulsed; and returned without success to Rome. But a few days later came the news of the **fall and sack of Saguntum** (end of 219 B.C.), after a siege of eight months. A second envoy was at once sent to Carthage. "Was Saguntum attacked by the State's commands, or by Hannibal's orders alone?" was the question put by the envoy. The Carthaginians were exasperated by Rome's insolence, and roused to stand by their successful general. They refused to answer the question. "Then," said Fabius, "in this fold of my robe I carry for you peace and war. Take which you will." "Give us which you will," was the answer. And the

envoy shook out the fold with the words, "Then I give you war."

The apparent unanimity of the Carthaginian Senate deserves notice; but, though it encouraged Hannibal now, it refused him any material assistance during the war. With the exception of a little money, probably no supplies reached Hannibal for the fifteen years in which he was in Italy. Hanno, who had spoken warmly in favour of the Romans on the occasion of the first embassy, probably acquired a fresh ascendancy in the council.

On the fall of Saguntum, Hannibal withdrew his army to New Carthage for the winter. Here he divided all the spoil of the captured town, and granted furlough to all who desired it. In the early spring the army once more assembled; and after the performance of some vows to the god Hercules (*i.e.*, Melcarth) at Gades, the march upon Italy was commenced.

The route lay along the shores of the Gulf of Lyons. It was exposed to attack from Roman fleets; and to secure it, it was necessary not only to completely overawe the Spanish tribes, but to leave behind a substantial force to defend it. In chastising the tribes Hannibal spent several months, with a loss of 22,000 men. Then he crossed the Pyrenees, leaving a force of 10,000 foot and 1000 horse in Spain with his brother Hasdrubal, with a special commission to protect the coast road and line of communications. On leaving New Carthage the whole force had been 102,000 men, including 12,000 cavalry. The desertion and dismissal of a few timid natives, his losses in war, and the contingent left with Hasdrubal, had reduced this total, at the Pyrenees, to **50,000 foot and 9,000 horse.** When the army at last descended into the plains of N. Italy, it numbered only 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse. Had not war and hardship reduced his men to one quarter of their original number, Rome must have fallen and her history ceased with the first years of the Second Punic War.



University Tutorial Press Lᵈ.

VII.—HANNIBAL'S ROUTE OVER THE ALPS.

(i.) Hannibal's route is described in detail by (1) the Greek **Polybius** (born 204 B.C.) who spent seventeen years in Italy, conversed with men who had fought against Hannibal, and professes to have personally traversed the route, and (2) **Livy**, who wrote some 200 years after the event. It is also alluded to by (3) **Varro** (80-30 B.C.), an antiquary and savant, known as "the most learned of the Romans"; and by (4) **Strabo**, the geographer, who flourish-about the Christian Era.

(ii.) There are at the present day four principal passes leading across the Alps from south France to Italy. In their order as one travels from south to north, these are (1) the **Col d'Argentière**, (2) the **Mont Genèvre**, (3) the **Mont Cenis**, and (4) the **Little St. Bernard**. It is certain that Hannibal did not pass by the Great St. Bernard still further north, or the Corniche Road by the coast on the south. He must therefore have travelled by one or other of these four routes.

(iii.) As one moves up the left (eastern) bank of the Rhone from Marseilles one crosses in succession three tributaries, viz. the **Druentia** (Durance), the Drôme, and the **Isara** (Isère). Higher up, at Lyons, the Rhone valley turns sharply east to the Mont du Chat, and thence runs more or less north-east to the Lake of Geneva and the river's sources in the Pennine Alps. The level lands called "the Island," between the Isère and the Rhone, were occupied by the **Allobroges**. The east side of the valley of the Isère was in possession of the **Tricastini**. At Grenoble the Isère is joined by a tributary from the south-east, the Drac, in whose valley dwelt the **Tricorii**. The sources of the Drac are in the north slopes of the Col Bayard, which forms the watershed between the valleys of the Drac and the Durance. At the southern foot of the Col the Druentia valley forks: that of the main stream runs north-north-east to Briançon and the Mont Genèvre, and that of its affluent the Ubaye east to the Col d'Argentière.

(iv.) Hannibal crossed the Rhone near **Arausio** (Orange), and turning north marched as far as the Isara. Thus far Livy and Polybius are in agreement. They agree also in

their descriptions of the actual ascent and passage of the Alps. But it has generally been held that their accounts of the intermediate portion of the march are inconsistent. Livy expressly says that Hannibal marched by one or other of the passes to which the Druentia valley leads. If Polybius' account is different, he must refer to some other pass, either to the Mont Cenis or to the Little St. Bernard. The former is reached by following the valley of the Isère and its tributary the Arc; the latter by the Isère valley. Most authorities held that Polybius had the Little St. Bernard in his mind.

(v.) This view leads to a further difficulty. Livy says that everyone was agreed that the first Italian people whom Hannibal encountered were the Taurini; and there is nothing in Polybius to contradict this. Now the Taurini dwelt around what is now Turin (*i.e.* "the Colony of Augusta of the Taurini") and in the valley of the Dora Riparia. The only passes leading into that valley are the Mont Genèvre and the Mont Cenis. The Little St. Bernard is too far to the north; the Col d'Argentière too far to the south. It follows then that if Polybius and Livy thought of *different* passes, they must have thought of the Cenis and the Genèvre, respectively. If they thought of the *same* pass, that pass was most probably the Genèvre.

(vi.) It has now been conclusively shown[1] that **there is nothing inconsistent in the two accounts of Polybius and Livy.** The former wrote without much reference to names of places and rivers, at that date unknown to the bulk of his readers; and as a result it became difficult to identify the route which he described. Hence, even in Livy's day (Ch. xxxviii., § 6) the actual route of Hannibal was already matter of doubt to most people. Livy set himself to correct this by carefully specifying such places, rivers, tribes, etc., as were important. But in thus doing he is merely elaborating, not contradicting, Polybius.

(vii.) From the confluence of the Isara with the Rhone, Hannibal marched "not straight on (*i.e.* eastward) to the Alps, but rather to the left" (Livy), that is, as Polybius says, "along the river," *i.e.* the Isara (whose lower course

[1] By Mr. G. E. Marindin in the *Classical Review* for June 1899.

is from north-east to south-west), and "to the Tricastini" (Livy), as far as Grenoble. Thence he turned south-east up the valley of the Drac "just skirting the Vocontii, and so reached the Tricorii . . . and presently the Druentia" (Livy), *i.e.* after crossing the Col Bayard, probably near Gap. Here was made the first attempt to oppose his march, and here was the scene of the fight of Ch. xxxii., xxxiii. He thence followed the Druentia valley upwards past Embrun to Briançon and so on to the Mont Genèvre. The position described in xxxiv. § 6 is Briançon itself. The downward path into the Valley of the Dora Riparia had been broken away by an avalanche or landslip (Ch. xxxvi., xxxvii.). Mr. Marindin concludes that **the narrative of Polybius suits best the Genèvre, which (or the Argentière) Livy distinctly requires us to adopt**; and that Varro's account probably, and the citation in Strabo certainly, support the same view."

VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF HISTORY.

B.C.

853 *c.* Phoenician refugees from Tyre, under Elissar (Dido), found Carthage.

600 *c.* The Greeks occupy all Sicily with exception of the west corner, where the Carthaginians maintain the ports of Drepana, Lilybaeum, and Panormus. Foundation of Massilia (Marseilles) by Phocaean Greeks from Asia Minor.

537. League of Carthage with Etruria, Battle of Alalia.

509. Carthage makes a commercial treaty with Rome.

480. The Sicilian Greeks defeat the Carthaginian effort to reconquer that island at the Battle of Himera.

339. A second invasion of Sicily defeated by Timoleon at the Battle of the Crimessus.

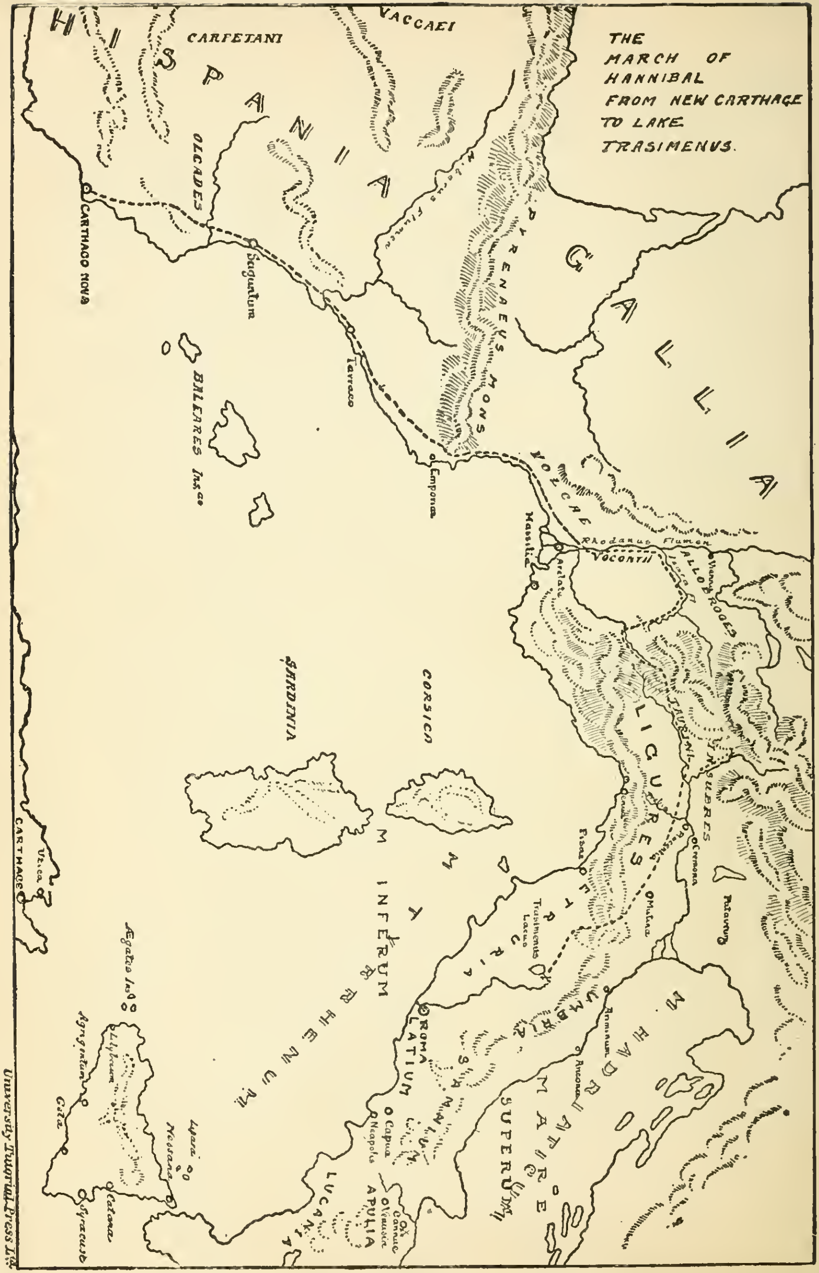
310. Agathocles, Tyrant of Cyrácuse, invades Carthaginian Africa.

278. Pyrrhus endeavours to drive the Carthaginians out of Sicily.

264. First Punic War begins, through Rome taking part with the Mamertines of Messana against Syracuse and Carthage.

B.C.

255. Regulus invades Africa: his defeat.
247. First appearance of Hamilcar Barca.
242. Battle of the Aegatian Islands, and **end of the war**. The Carthaginians evacuate Sicily and pay an indemnity of 3,200 talents.
240. The revolt of the Carthaginian mercenaries in Africa and Sardinia.
238. Hamilcar ends the Mercenary War. Surrender of Sardinia to Rome. **Hamilcar crosses to Spain**. The oath of Hannibal.
229. Death of Hamilcar, and **succession of Hasdrubal**.
228. Treaty of Rome with Hasdrubal fixing the Ebro as the boundary. Foundation of New Carthage.
225-2. Revolt of the Boian and Insubrian Gauls against Rome, and its suppression.
221. Assassination of Hasdrubal; **accession of Hannibal** (ii. § 5).
220. Hannibal conquers the Olcades and takes Cartala (v. § 3).
219. He subdues the Vaccaei, and captures Hermandica and Arbocala (v. § 4). The Carpetani, joined by some fugitives of the Olcades and Vaccaei, attack him on his retreat, but are defeated and subdued (v. §§ 5-11). The Turdetani, at variance with Saguntum, call in Hannibal. **Siege and fall of Saguntum** in the eighth month (vi., vii., viii.). Debate in the Senate (vi.). An embassy sent to bid him desist (*ibid*). They cross to Carthage, and, as their demands are refused, war is declared. Hannibal winters at New Carthage.
218. Advance of Hannibal. Foundation of colonies at Cremona and Placentia. Hannibal crosses the Pyrenees, eludes Scipio on the Rhone, crosses the Alps, and descends into Italy in October. Skirmish at the **R. Ticinus** and battle of the **Trebia**. Successes of Cn. Scipio in Spain. Hannibal winters in Gallia Cisalpina.


THE MARCH OF HANNIBAL FROM NEW CARTHAGE TO LAKE TRASIMENUS.
HISPANIA
CARPETANI
VACCAEI
OLCADES
CARTHAGO NOVA
Saguntum
Tarraco
Emporiae
BALEARES Insae
PYRENAEUS MONS
GALLIA
VOLCAE
Massilia
Arelate
Rhodanus Flumen
VOCONTII
ALLOBROGES
TAURINI
INSUBRES
LIGURES
Genua
Pisae
Cremona
Mutina
Placentia
Trasimenus Lacus
ETRURIA
UMBRIA
Ariminum
Ancona
SAMNIUM
ROMA
LATIUM
Capua
Neapolis
LUCANIA
APULIA
Cannae
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MARE INFERUM
TYRRHENUM
MARE HADRIATICUM
SUPERUM
CARTHAGO
Utica
Aegates Insae
Lilybaeum
Agrigentum
Gela
Messana
Lipari
Catana
Syracuse
University Tutorial Press Ltd.

TITI LIVII

LIBER XXI.

IN parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae umquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. 2. Nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum umquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese sed expertas primo Punico conferebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint, qui vicerunt. 3. Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Poenis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse. 4. Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme novem pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum tactis sacris iure iurando adactum se, cum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. 5. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam, et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum stipendio etiam insuper inposito interceptam.

2 II. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos; 2. ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut appareret maius eum, quam quod gereret, agitare in animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae inlaturos fuisse, cui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt. 3. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. 4. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus, et quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate principum in imperio positus. 5. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens hospitiis magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem auxit. 6. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit: barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram obtruncati ab eo domini interfecit comprensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante laetitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit. 7. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus, Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

3 III. In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin praerogativam militarem, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque adsensu appellatus erat, favor plebis sequeretur. 2. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat; actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. 3. Barcinis nitentibus, ut adsuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes, Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, "et aecum postu-

lare videtur," inquit, "Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo, 3
quod petit, tribuendum." 4. Cum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae in se omnes convertisset, "florem aetatis," inquit, "Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praebuit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento adsuefacere libidini praetorum. 5. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia inmodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relicti exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature serviamus? 6. Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum sub legibus, sub magistratibus docendum vivere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet."

IV. Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hannoni adsentie- 4
bantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit.

Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit: 2. Hamilcarem iuvenem redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. 3. Numquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. 4. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere. 5. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat. 6. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali non voluptate modus finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora: 7. id quod gerendis rebus superesset quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi saepe militari sagulo

4 opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. 8. Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat: princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat. 9. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio. 10. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit nulla re, quae agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, praetermissa.

5 V. Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, 2. nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. 3. Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines—ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat—induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, iungendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset. 4. Cartalam urbem opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo metu perculsae minores civitates stipendio inposito imperium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem Novam in hiberna est deductus. 5. Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendioque praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis vere primo in Vaccaeos promotum bellum. 6. Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum urbes, vi captae. 7. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa; ab Hermandica profugi exulibus Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gentis, cum se iunxissent, concitant Carpetanos, 8. adortique Hannibalem regressum ex Vaccaeis haud procul Tago flumine, agmen grave praeda

turbavere. 9. Hannibal proelio abstinuit castrisque super ripam positis, cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado traiecit, valloque ita producto, ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit. 10. Equitibus praecepit, ut, cum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur inpeditum agmen, in ripa elephantos—quadraginta autem erant—disponit. 11. Carpetanorum cum adpendicibus Olcadum Vaccaeorumque centum milia fuere, invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur campo. 12. Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti et, quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam rati, quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt. 13. At ex parte altera ripae vis ingens equitum in flumen inmissa, medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursum, 14. quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab inermi equite equo temere acto perverti posset, eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabili, comminus eminusque rem gereret. 15. Pars magna flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in hostis ab elephantis obtriti sunt. 16. Postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione cum in unum colligerentur, priusquam a tanto pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit vastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit. 17. Et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

VI. Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat; ceterum iam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. 2. Quibus cum adesset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec certamen iuris sed vim quaeri appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud dubie inminens orantes. 3. Consules tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus; qui cum

6 legatis in senatum introductis de re publica rettulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, 4. quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam traicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent,—5. hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari adlatum est. 6. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum; 7. erant, qui non temere movendam rem tantam expectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur, vicit; 8. legatique eo maturius missi. P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum.

7 **VII.** Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur. 2. Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; 3. ceterum in tantas brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus, seu multitudinis incremento, seu disciplinae sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. 4. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines pervastatis passim agris urbem tripertito adgreditur. 5. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque quam cetera circa vallem vergens. Adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries moenibus admoveri posset. 6. Sed ut locus procul muro satis aecus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat. 7. Et turris ingens inminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto

loco, supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et 7
iuventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi maiore obsistebant. 8. Ac primo missilibus submovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat; 9. quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Poeni. 10. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset, quin opera ac vineae desererentur.

VIII. Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppug- 8
natio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur. Per quod tempus, ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. 2. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineae coeptae agi admoverique aries. 3. Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus; ad centum quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur; 4. oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri coepti non sufficiebant. 5. Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus muri, quassataeque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem; tres deinceps turres quantumque inter eas muri erat cum fragore ingenti prociderant. 6. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni; qua, velut si pariter utresque murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. 7. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conseri solent, sed iustae acies velut patenti campo inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. 8. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos inritat, Poeno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum adnitatur, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponenti-

8 bus, nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem inmitteret. 9. Itaque quo acrius et confertim magis utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. 10. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili abiegno et cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut in pilo quadratum, stuppa circumligabant linebantque pice; 11. ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. 12. Sed id maxime, etiam si haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat, nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus praebebat.

9 IX. Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen, et Saguntinis, quia praeter spem resisterent, crevissent animi, Poenus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, (2.) clamorem repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde inpeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

3. Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale, qui dicerent nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse legationes audire. 4. Apparebat non admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinae praemittit, ut praepararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari populo Romano posset.

10 X. Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque inrita legatio fuit. 2. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam foederis magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum adsensu audientium egit, per deos foederum arbitros ac testes senatum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum monuisse, prae-

dixisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; 10 3. non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec umquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana foedera. 4. "Iuvenem flagrantem cupidine regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni praebentes ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. 5. Saguntum vestri circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur foedere; mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanae legiones ducibus iisdem dis, per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti. 6. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit, ius gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur, pulsi ad nos venerunt; res ex foedere repetunt; ut publica fraus absit, auctorem culpae et reum criminis deposcunt. 7. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius saeviant. Aegatis insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, quae terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. 8. Nec puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus. 9. Vicerunt ergo di homines, et id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli velut aecus iudex, unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit. 10. Carthagini nunc Hannibal vineas turresque admovet; Carthaginis moenia quatit ariete: Sagunti ruinae—falsus utinam vates sim—nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. 11. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuvenem tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor; 12. nec dedendum solum ad

piaculum rupti foederis, sed, si nemo deposcat, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaque eius accidere neque ille sollicitare quietae civitatis statum possit. 13. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatui satisfaciant, alios, qui Hannibali nuntient, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno."

11 XI. Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium legatum Romanum. 2. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum iniuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginiensium societati praeponat.

3. Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habebat paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe praemiorum accendit. 4. Ut vero pro contione praedam captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt, ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. 5. Saguntini, ut a proeliis quietem habuerant, nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die umquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. 6. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est, nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. 7. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis omnia munimenta urbis superans altitudine agebatur, hortator aderat. Quae cum admota catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata

dispositis muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit. 8. Nec erat difficile opus, quod caementa non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto structurae antiquae genere. 9. Itaque latius, quam qua caederetur, ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem vadebant. 10. Locum quoque editum capiunt; conlatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem inminentem haberent, muro circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. 11. Utrimque summa vi et muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. 12. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione et minuitur expectatio externae opis, cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent. 13. Paulisper tamen adfectos animos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus metum defectionis cum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma. 11

XII. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat Maharbale Himilconis filio—eum praefecerat Hannibal—ita inpigre rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent. 2. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit, et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. 3. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum, et pars arcis capta est. 12

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. 4. Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant, condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans,

12 qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. 5. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent, ubi Poenus iussisset. 6. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos, ubi alia vincantur, adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur: erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. 7. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum—et ipse ita iubebat—est deductus. 8. Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, submota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit.

13 **XIII.** "Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venissem: 2. nunc, cum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem—sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus—ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. 3. Vestra autem causa me nec ullius alterius loqui, quae loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis, neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis umquam apud vos mentionem feci. 4. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes, nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam aequam. 5. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quem ad modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audietis, et non id, quod amittitur, in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed quidquid relinquitur pro munere habituri estis. 6. Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum adsigna-

turus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. 7. Aurum et 13
argentum omne, publicum privatumque, ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. 8. Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his rebus remissurum; sed vel haec patienda censeo potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure sinatis."

XIV. Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multi- 14
tudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conicientes eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. 2. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato ut omnes puberes interficerentur. 3. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est: 4. cui enim parci potuit ex his, qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt, aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda.

XV. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta 15
erant, et in caedibus vix ullum discrimen aetatis ira fecerat, et captivi militum praeda fuerant, 2. tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse con-

15 stat et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

3. Octavo mense, quam coeptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem Novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. 4. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint, et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. 5. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum. 6. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

16 XVI. Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; 2. tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent: 3. nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremque secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem umquam fuisse atque inbellem. 4. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum; 5. Poenum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo adsuetum, recentem

ab excidio opulentissimae urbis, Hiberum transire; 6. trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos; conciturum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes. Cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.

XVII. Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae erant; 17
tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum Sicilia evenit. 2. Sex in eum annum decretae legiones et socium quantum ipsis videretur, et classis quanta parari posset. 3. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum milia scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta milia peditum quattuor milia et quadringenti equites; naves ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces viginti deducti. 4. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iuberent populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici; eiusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati di, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset. 5. Inter consules ita copiae divisae: Sempronio datae legiones duae —ea quaterna milia erant peditum et treceni equites—et sociorum sedecim milia peditum, equites mille octingenti, naves longae centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. 6. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italiā Poenum consul alter satis esset. 7. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud invalido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur; 8. navium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus: sexaginta quinqueremes datae—neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant—et duae Romanae legiones cum suo iusto equitatu et quattuordecim milibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sescentis. Duas legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios sescentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

18 XVIII. His ita conparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fierent, legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium M. Livium L. Aemilium C. Licinium Q. Baebium, in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, 2. et, si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. 3. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: 4. "Praeceps vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis; ceterum haec legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. 5. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur, et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur. 6. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit, quaerendum censeam, sed utrum iure an iniuria: 7. nostra enim haec quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per foedus fieri. 8. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis—necdum enim erant socii vestri—cautum est. 9. At enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. 10. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus icit, quia neque ex auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri: itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum est. 11. Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit. 12. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere, et

quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat." 18
13. Tum Romanus sinu ex toga facto "Hic," inquit, "vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet, sumite." 14. Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, daret, utrum vellet, subclamatum est. Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et, quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

XIX. Haec derecta percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis 19
ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. 2. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutati priore foedere, quod mutatum est, conparandum erat? 3. cum in Lutati foedere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo conprobatum sit foedus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur. 4. Quamquam, etsi priore foedere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis. Nam neque additum erat "iis, qui tunc essent" nec "ne qui postea adsumerentur;" 5. et cum adsumere novos liceret socios, quis aequum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi, aut receptos in fidem non defendi? Tantum ne Carthaginiensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

6. Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut in societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traiecerunt. 7. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt; a quibus benigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae erexerunt. 8. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit:

19 9. "Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos, uti vestram Carthaginiensium amicitiae praeponamus, cum, qui id fecerunt Saguntini, crudelius, quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis? 10. Ibi quaeratis socios, censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati confidat." 11. Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequiquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

20 **XX.** In his nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati —ita mos gentis erat—in concilium venerunt. 2. Cum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Poeno bellum Italiae inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, 3. tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus maioribusque natu iuventus sedaretur; 4. adeo stolida inpudensque postulatio visa est, censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id avertere in se agrosque suos pro alienis populandos obicere. 5. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam, ob quae aut pro Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma; 6. contra ea audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera indigna pati. 7. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. 8. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita, praeoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore,—adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse,—ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. 9. Ita peragratis Hispaniae et Galliae populis legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo

post, quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem 20
omnem expectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante 26
fama iam Hiberum Poenos transisse.

XXI. Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Novam in 21 hiberna concesserat ibique auditis, quae Romae quaeque Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum sed etiam causam esse belli, 2. partitis divenditisque reliquiis praedae nihil ultra differendum ratus Hispani generis milites convocat. 3. "Credo ego vos," inquit, "socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniae populis aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse, aut in alias terras transferendum bellum; 4. ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum sed etiam victoriae bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam et gloriam quaeremus. 5. Itaque cum longinqua a domo instet militia, incertumque sit, quando domos vestras et quae cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere volt, commeatum do. 6. Primo vere edico adsitis, ut dis bene iuvantibus bellum ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus." 7. Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et iam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium. 8. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

9. Hannibal, cum recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gadis profectus Herculi vota exsolvit novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospere evenissent. 10. Inde partiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido praesidio firmare eam statuit. 11. Pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul

21 ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pigneribus obligati, stipendia facerent. 12. Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites caetratos misit in Africam et funditores Baliares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. 13. Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul conquisitoribus in civitates missis quattuor milia conscripta delectae iuventutis, praesidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem iubet.

22 **XXII**. Neque Hispaniam neglegendam ratus, atque id eo minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, (2.) Hasdrubali fratri, viro inpigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Baliaribus quingentis. 3. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta et Numidae Maurique, accolae Oceani, ad mille octingenti et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti equites et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti viginti unus. 4. Classis praeterea data ad tuendam maritumam oram, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

5. Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit; atque inde profectus praeter Onussam urbem ad Hiberum marituma ora ducit. 6. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. 7. Pavidum primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani, cum, quidnam id esset, quod respicere vetitus

esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse; 8. tum vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore caeli nimbum. 9. Tum, quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset, quaerentem audisse vastitatem Italiae esse: pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse. 22

XXIII. Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit praemissis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Hiberum traduxit. 2. Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacet niam, quae subiecta Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit, oraeque huic omni praefecit Hannonem, ut fauces, quae Hispanias Galliis iungunt in potestate essent. 3. Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae regionis data et mille equites. 4. Postquam per Pyrenaeum saltum traduci exercitus est coeptus, rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae inexsuperabilique Alpium transitu. 5. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi irritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans. 23

XXIV. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenaeum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. 2. Galli, quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaeum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque valida inposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati, Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. 3. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram 24

24 magis quam bellum metuens oratores ad regulos eorum misit: conloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilior esset; 4. nam et acceptarum eos in castra sua se laetum, nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum. Hospitem enim se Galliae non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset. 5. Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per finis suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

25 **XXV.** In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, 2. cum, perinde ac si Alpis iam transisset, Boi sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. 3. Itaque armis repente arreptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant adsignandum, diffisi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius C. Servilius M. Annius. 4. Lutati nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Servilioque M'Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. 5. Id quoque incertum est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantis impetus sit factus. 6. Mutinae cum obsiderentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi, 7. evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad conloquium non contra ius modo gentium sed violata etiam, quae data in id

tempus erat, fide conprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi 25 obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. 8. Cum haec de legatis nuntiata essent, et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. 9. Silvae tunc circa viam erant plerisque incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipitatur, multaque cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. 10. Ibi castra communita, et, quia Gallis ad temptanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad sescentos cecidisse satis constabat. 11. Iter deinde de integro coeptum, nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; 12. ubi rursus silvae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. 13. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque inpedito evasere. Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, vicum propincum Pado, contendere. 14. Ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium tutabantur.

XXVI. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, 26 et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, (2.) C. Atilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum dilectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium ferre Manlio iubent, qui sine ullo certamine — abscesserant enim metu hostes — Tannetum pervenit.

3. Et P. Cornelius in locum eius, quae missa cum praetore erat, scripta legione nova profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde Salluvium montis pervenit Massiliam, 4. et ad proximum ostium Rhodani—pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrit—castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hannibalem

26 superasse Pyrenaeos montis. 5. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus, quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis ab iactatione marituma militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. 6. Hannibal ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. 7. Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suae tenuerant, simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. 8. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus, 9. deinde et ipsi milites simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis inducti alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

27 **XXVII.** Iamque omnibus satis conparatis ad traiciendum terrebant ex adverso hostes omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes. 2. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, (3.) ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni circumducere agmen, ut, cum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostes. 4. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. 5. Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae,

in quibus equi virique et alia onera traicerentur. Hispani 27
sine ulla mole in utris vestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen tranavere. 6. Et alius exercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. 7. Postero die profecti ex loco edito fumo significant transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad traiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. 8. Navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traicientibus lintribus praebebat. 9. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur praeter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, inposuerant in naves.

XXVIII. Galli occursant in ripa cum variis ululatibus 28
cantuque moris sui quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dextris tela, 2. quamquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa traicientes suos hortabantur. 3. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente et ab tergo inprovisa premente acie. 4. Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium traiectis, spernens iam Gallicos tumultus, castra locat.

5. Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo, certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis inritatum

28 ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam sequeretur, nantem traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. 6. Ceterum magis constat ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est. 7. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes quinquaginta latam a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut beluae audacter velut per solum ingrederentur. 8. Altera ratis aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; 9. tum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam praegredientibus feminis acti, ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat, vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. 10. Ita primis expositis alii deinde repetiti ac traiecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor, cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur. 11. Ibi urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. 12. Excidere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen, sed pondere ipso stabiles deiectis rectoribus quaerendis pedetentim vadis in terram evasere.

29 **XXIX.** Dum elephanti traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent. 2. Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. 3. Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec

omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti 29
ceciderunt. 4. Hoc principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. 5. Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis coeptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, (6.) et Hannibalem incertum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter, an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum reguliique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam adgrediendam censent. 7. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter inmensum Alpisque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

XXX. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit 30
pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: 2. mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentis eos stipendia facere, neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensium essent. 3. Indignatos deinde, quod, quicumque Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. 4. Tum nemini visum id longum, cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; 5. nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectum, in conspectu Alpis habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiae sit, (6.) in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos

30 subsistere—quid Alpis aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? 7. Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis; nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpis quidem habitari coli, gignere atque alere animantes; pervias paucis esse, pervias exercitibus. 8. Eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpis transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpis ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. 9. Militi quidem armato nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? 10. Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? 11. Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri posse Poenus desperet: proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae, aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

31 **XXXI.** His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare iubet. 2. Postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rectior ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, (3.) cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. 4. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum; mediis campis Insulae nomen inditum. 5. Incolunt prope Allobroges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. 6. Tum discors erat. Regni certamine ambigebant fratres. Maior et qui prius imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu iuniorum, qui iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. 7. Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum

ad Hannibalem delegata esset, arbiter regni factus, quod 31
ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori restituit. 8. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes praeparari cogebant.

9. Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam Alpis peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit: inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam inpedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. 10. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est; 11. nam, cum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gignit gurgites. Et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est; ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet. 12. Et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

XXXII. P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post, quam 32
Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus. 2. Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum praegressos adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac navis rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. 3. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, (4.) non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. 5. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo qui circa Padum erat exercitus Italiam defensurus.

6. Hannibal a Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad

32 Alpis cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. 7. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in maius vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope inmixtae, tecta informia inposita rupibus, pecora iumentaque torpida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. 8. Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt inminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si vallis occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. 9. Hannibal consistere signa iussit; Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis postquam conperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque quam extentissima potest valle locat. 10. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentis, cum se inmiscuissent conloquiis montanorum, edoctus interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. 11. Die deinde simulando aliud, quam quod parabatur, consumpto, (12.) cum eodem, quo constiterant, loco castra communissent, ubi primum digressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis inpedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum ipse cum expeditis, (13.) acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenuerant, consedit.

33 **XXXIII.** Prima deinde luce castra mota, et agmen relicum incedere coepit. 2. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente conspiciunt alios arce occupata sua super caput inminentis, alios via transire hostis. 3. Utraque simul obiecta res oculis animisque inmobiles parumper eos defixit; 4. deinde,

ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu mis- 33 ceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati, diversis rupibus iuxta in vias ac devia adsueti decurrunt. 5. Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente, ut periculo primus evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. 6. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussaeque valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent: 7. multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque utrimque angustiae essent, in inmensum altitudinis deiecit, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime modo iumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. 8. Quae quamquam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret. 9. Deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque esse, ne exutum inpedimentis exercitum nequiquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco, et cum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. 10. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur; nec per otium modo sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. 11. Castellum inde, quod caput eius regionis erat, viculosque circumiectos capit, et captivo cibo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et quia nec a montanis primo perculsis nec loco magno opere inpediebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viae confecit.

XXXIV. Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, 34 ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus. 2. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum; 3. itaque

34 oboedienter imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. 4. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respondisset, obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus nequaquam ut inter pacatos conposito agmine duces eorum sequitur. 5. Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant, ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans omnia sollicitusque incedebat. 6. Ubi in angustiorem viam et parte altera subiectam iugo insuper inminenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. 7. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. 8. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. 9. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat, occursantes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine viam insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque inpedimentis acta est.

35 **XXXV.** Postero die iam segnius intercursantibus barbaris iunctae copiae saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum pernicie superatus. 2. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret, aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. 3. Elephanti, sicut per artas praecipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

4. Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia

pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides 35
iis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus iter faciebant. 5. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumentaque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. 6. Fessis taedio tot malorum nivis etiam casus occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum ingentem terrorem adiecit. 7. Per omnia nive oppleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, 8. praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, 9. moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros. 10. Procedere inde agmen coepit, iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furta per occasionem temptantibus. 11. Ceterum iter multo, quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora sunt, difficilius fuit. 12. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu possent, nec, qui paulum titubassent, haerere adflicti vestigio suo, aliique super alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.

XXXVI. Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem 36
atque ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset. 2. Natura locus iam ante praeceps recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat. 3. Ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quae res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. 4. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia

36 circa nec trita antea quamvis longo ambitu circumduceret agmen. 5. Ea vero via inexsuperabilis fuit; nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; 6. ut vero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. 7. Taetra ibi luctatio erat lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant: ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. 8. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius in conitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica capta haererent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

37 XXXVII. Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. 2. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa inmanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. 3. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. 4. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. 5. Inferiora valles apricosque colles habent rivosque prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca. 6. Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

XXXVIII. Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, 38
quinto mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. 2. Quantae copiae transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti milia peditum, sex equitum. 3. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis; 4. cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta—in Italia magis adfluxisse veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt; 5. ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse. Taurini Semigalli proxuma gens erat in Italiam degresso. 6. Id cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quanam Alpis transierit, et vulgo credere Poenino—atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis iugum dicere transisse; 7. qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos Montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent. 8. Nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique, quae ad Poeninum ferunt, obsaepta gentibus semigermanis fuissent. 9. Neque herculo montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi eius, nomen norint inditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Poeninum montani appellant.

XXXIX. Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis 39
proximae genti adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat; 2. otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex inluvie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. 3. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas

39 navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. 4. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volens in amicitiam non veniebat, vi expugnarat; 5. ac iunxisset sibi non metu solum sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantis defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. 6. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars sequenda esset, Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. 7. Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam inbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. 8. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, praestantem virum credebat; 9. et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traiciendarum Alpium et effectu. 10. Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traicere, et ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.

40 XL. "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos; 2. quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? 3. Nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, 4. ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo

imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt. 40 5. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. 6. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse solet. 7. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractavere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis qui plures paene perierint quam supersint plus spei nactos esse. 8. At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit. 9. Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame frigore, inluvie squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praeusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torpida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi. 10. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis, reliquias extremas hostium, non hostem habetis. Ac nihil magis vereor, quam ne, cum vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur. 11. Sed ita forsitan decuerit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere."

XLI. "Non vereor, ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi 41 causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse. 2. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem, et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et minorem haud dubie molem belli; 3. tamen cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. 4. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est,

41 hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra nequieram, regressus ad navis, quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. 5. Utrum, cum declinarem certamen, inprovidus incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? 6. Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint, qui ad Aegatis pugnaverunt insulas, et quos ab Eryce duodevicenis denariis aestimatos emisistis, (7.) et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus. 8. Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret, respiceret profecto si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, (9.) qui graves inpositas victis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. 10. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. 11. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame interficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam traicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere: 12. veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus, cum Africo bello urgerentur. 13. Pro his inpertitis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! 14. Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. 15. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, conparari

nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut 41 si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. 16. Unus quisque se non corpus suum, sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum; 17. qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore." Haec apud Romanos consul.

XLII. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos 42 milites ratus circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum proiectis interrogare interpretem iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. 2. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent, et deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, cuiusque sors exciderat, alacer inter gratulantes gaudio exultans cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. 3. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

XLIII. Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimi- 43 sisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus fertur: 2. "Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites: neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat. 3. Ac nescio an maiora vincula maioresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit; 4. dextra laevaque duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentes; circa Padus amnis, maior Padus ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis

43 ac vigentibus transitae. 5. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quae necessitatem pugnandi inposuit, praemia vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab dis quidem inmortalibus optare solent. 6. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent; nunc, quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est. 7. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite dum, dis bene iuvantibus arma capite. 8. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis; 9. tempus est iam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos. 10. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit.

11. "Nec quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis victoriam fore; saepe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit, et incliti populi regesque perlevi momento victi sunt. 12. Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani quid est, cur illi vobis conparandi sint? 13. Ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos vincentes huc pervenistis; 14. pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso victo circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem. 15. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum, quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? 16. Cui si quis demptis signis

Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum 43
habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. 17. Non ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cuius non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. 18. Cum laudatis a me miliens donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque."

XLIV. "Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video 44
animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, (2.) vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, cum pro patria tum ob iram iustissimam pugnaturos. 3. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. 4. Accendit praeterea et stimulat animos dolor iniuria indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes, qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt. 5. Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum inponere aecum censet. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus; neque eos, quos statuit, terminos observat. 6. Ne transieris Hiberum! Ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis! At liberum est Saguntum. 7. Nusquam te vestigio moveris! Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam adimis? Etiam in Hispanias, et, inde si decessero, in Africam transcendes? Transcendes autem? Transcendisse dico. Duos consules huius anni, unum in Africam alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis vindicarimus. 8. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet,

44 qui respectum habent, quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient; vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. 9. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus, si destinatum animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis: nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis inmortalibus acrius datum est."

45 **XLV.** His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper inponunt; 2. Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; 3. Gallis parci quam maxime iubet principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum a Victumulis consedit. 4. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat, in quorum spem pugnarent: 5. agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, inmunem ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; 6. qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. 7. Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit binaque pro his mancipia dominis se redditurum. 8. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quem ad modum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. 9. Tum vero omnes, velut dis auctori-

bus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda sperata rati proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

XLVI. Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; 2. nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio inminente consederat. 3. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque ex peditibus profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. 4. Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum et equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium sese expediebant. 5. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidiis; Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. 6. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps; dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. 7. Is pavor perculit Romanos auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque intercursu tum primum pubescentis filii propulsatum. 8. Hic erit iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. 9. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxume fuit, quos primos Numidae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse

46 cedendo reduxit. 10. Servati consulis decus Coelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat. Malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores, et fama obtinuit.

47 **XLVII.** Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit, quo facile apparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse, et ob id campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpisque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. 2. Itaque proxima nocte iussis militibus vasa silentio conligere castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus iunxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traiceret. 3. Prius Placentiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solventes cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente. 4. Coelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. 5. Ea peritis amnis eius vix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerunt, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. 6. Potiores apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini inventum tradunt: ea cum Magone equites et Hispanorum expeditos praemissos. 7. Dum Hannibal circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. 8. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra communivit, et postero die in conspectu hostium acie derecta potestatem pugnae fecit.

XLVIII. Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est. 2. Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt, quos Poenus benigne adlocutus et spe ingentium donorum accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popularium animos dimisit. 3. Scipio caedem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, (4.) quamquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium iam in loca altiora collisque inpeditiores equiti castra movet. 5. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque Hannibal primum Numidis deinde omni equitatu turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate praedae in vacua Romana castra Numidae devertissent. 6. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus, et cum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantisque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. 7. Scipio nec vexationem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens et collegam—iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat—ratus expectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. 8. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem nusquam praeparatis commeatibus maior in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. 9. Ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino, praefecto praesidii, corrupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. 10. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saevitum est. 48

49 XLIX. Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae inminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra marique res gestae. 2. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae, novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum avertit aestus. 3. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. 4. Cognitum ex captivis, praeter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; 5. Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere eadem tempestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Aegatis insulas deiectam. 6. Haec, sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit monetque, Lilybaeum firmo teneret praesidio. 7. Extemplo et a praetore circa civitates missi legati tribunique suos ad curam custodiae intendere, et ante omnia Lilybaeum teneri apparatu belli, (8) edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent, ut ubi signum datum esset, ne quid moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem oram, qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem, dimissis. 9. Itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat, et sublatis armamentis veniebant; 10. extemplo datum signum ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves conscensum; pars militum in muris portarumque in stationibus, pars in navibus erant. 11. Et Carthaginienses quia rem fore haud cum inparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto. 12. Ubi inluxit,

49 recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. 13. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute.

50 L. Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires conferre velle; 2. contra eludere Poenus et arte, non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam virorum aut armorum malle certamen facere. 3. Nam ut sociis navalibus adfatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite habebant; et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. 4. Quod ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum et paucitas illis minuit. 5. Extemplo septem naves Punicae circumventae, fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautaeque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. 6. Classis Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

7. Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. 8. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem instructam ornatamque obviam duxit transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse, precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, 9. statum deinde insulae et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis adiuvisset, eo senem adiuturum; 10. frumentum vestimentaque sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo maritumisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore. 11. Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naves accepere.

51 LI. A Lilybaeo consul Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit. 2. Advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique et a consule et a praetore praeter insignes nobilitate viros sub corona venierunt. 3. Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus. 4. Iam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiae oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi agro urbem etiam terrebant. 5. Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteraeque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore conlegae ferret auxilium, missae traduntur. 6. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves inpositum Ariminum mari supero misit, Sexto Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque oram Italiae tuendam adtribuit, 7. M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse compositis Siciliae rebus decem navibus oram Italiae legens Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen conlegae coniungitur.

52 LII. Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum virium erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis declarabat. 2. Tamen consul alter equestri proelio uno et vulnere suo minutus trahi rem malebat; recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. 3. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incolebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. 4. Id

Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenus 52 periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. 5. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. 6. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus iniuriae ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. 7. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam; 8. Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguissent ope, defensos censebat. 9. Conlega cunctante equitatum suum mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. 10. Sparsos et inconpositos, ad hoc graves praeda plerosque cum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrorem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio suorum proelium restituere. 11. Varia inde pugna sequentes inter cedentesque cum ad extremum aequassent certamen, maior tamen hostium caedes, penes Romanos fama victoriae fuit.

LIII. Ceterum nemini omnium maior iustiorque quam 53 ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se vicisse. 2. Restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter conlegam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. 3. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum expectari? 4. Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia

53 ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas, nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos. 5. "Quantum ingemiscant," inquit, "patres nostri circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventis intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpis Appenninumque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse." 6. Haec adsidens aegro conlegae, haec in praetorio prope contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propincum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae, dum aeger conlega erat. 7. Itaque nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propincum certamen milites iubet.

8. Hannibal cum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide quicquam consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat. 9. Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, (10.) dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. 11. Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propincum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quae vellet, tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.

54 **LIV**. Erat in medio rivus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse

oculis perlustravit, "hic erit locus," Magoni fratri ait, "quem 54 teneas. 2. Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est." 3. Ita praetorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. "Robora virorum cerno," inquit Hannibal; "sed uti numero etiam non animis modo valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligite. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis; hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis." 4. Ita Magone cum mille equitibus, mille peditibus dimisso, Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. 5. Haec mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praeceptum, ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum expectare.

6. Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum iam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. 7. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludium praegelidis. 8. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quidquid aurae fluminis adpropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis. 9. Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt—et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno imbri—tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et procedente iam die fame etiam deficere.

LV. Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis 55 oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per

55 otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostis nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. 2. Baliares locat ante signa, levem armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elephantos statuit. 3. Consul effuse sequentis equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus. 4. Duodeviginti milia Romana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est. 5. Proelium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua levis armatura est, quae res effecit, ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur; 6. nam cum vix iam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. 7. Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. 8. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentis Poenus paulo ante curatis corporibus in proelium adtulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. 9. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum pedite solum foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares pulso equite iaculabantur in latera, et elephanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant, et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum inprovida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. 10. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu inmota acies, maxime praeter spem omnium adversus elephantos. 11. Eos velites ad id ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxume molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

LVI. Trepidantisque et prope iam in suos consternatos e 56 media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam; novusque terror additus Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. 2. Itaque cum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alibi evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, quae Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere et, 3. cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque prae imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. 4. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; 5. qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt. 6. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et iumenta et elephantos prope omnis absumpsit. 7. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. 8. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium castrorum et quod relicum sauciorum ex magna parte militum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia, aut, quia iam moveri nequibant prae lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt; quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiectus Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

LVII. Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut 57 iam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo a portis moenibusque vim arcerent: 2. uno consule ad Ticinum victo alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus consulibus,

57 duobus consularibus exercitibus victis quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse, quae arcessantur? 3. Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit. 4. Ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad praedandum hostium equites audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus, id quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.

5. Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque iis inpeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. 6. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles. 7. Tantus repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat iussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi; 8. equestre interim proelium commissum, in quo quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus iniecto defensum egregie praesidium est. 9. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta et vixdum satis percurato vulnere ad Victumulas oppugnandas ire pergit. 10. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde locum frequentaverant adcolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris conpulerat. 11. Huius generis multitudo, fama inpigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa, armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. 12. Magis agmina quam acies in via concurrerunt, et, cum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa. 13. Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia accepere; iussique arma tradere cum dicto paruissent, signum

repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem 57 diriperent. 14. Neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, praetermissa clades est; adeo omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

LVIII. Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia 58 frigora erant, quies militi data est, 2. et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate adiuncturus. 3. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope foeditatem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant, aut contra enitentes vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere; 4. dein, cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi a vento parumper consedere. 5. Tum vero ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere; 6. tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo deprensi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. 7. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant, nec, quod statutum esset, manebat, omnia perscindente vento et rapiente, 8. et mox aqua levata vento cum super gelida montium iuga concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis deiecit, ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti; 9. tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. 10. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. 11. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere. Multi

58 homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem absumpti.

59 LIX. Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit; 2. nec Sempronius consul—iam enim redierat ab Roma—detrectavit certamen. Atque eo die tria milia passuum inter bina castra fuere; postero die ingentibus animis vario eventu pugnatum est. 3. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. 4. Hannibal paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis ceteros confertos in media castra recepit intentosque signum ad erumpendum expectare iubet. 5. Iam nona ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. 6. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra laevaque emissis in hostem ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. 7. Pugna raro magis ulla aequa et utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset: nox accensum ingentibus animis proelium diremit. 8. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam caedes et, sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sescentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit; 9. sed maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. 10. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

LX. Dum haec in Italia geruntur, (2.) Cn. Cornelius Scipio 60
in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus cum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circumvectus Emporias adpulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, (3.) orsus a Lacetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituendis Romanae dicionis fecit. 4. Inde conciliata clementiae fama non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos sed societas etiam armorum parta est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. 5. Hannonis cis Hiberum provincia erat: eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus castris in conspectu hostium positis in aciem eduxit. 6. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse malletque adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. 7. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. Sex milia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum; nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Cissis, propincum castris oppidum, expugnatur. 8. Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum; 9. castra militem ditavere, non eius modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et eius, qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia inpedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

LXI. Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, trans- 61
gressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursursus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. 2. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantisque

61 per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundae res neglegentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, maiore fuga ad naves conpellit. 3. Nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. 4. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico relicto Emporias cum classe rediit. 5. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem inpulso, cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. 6. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. 7. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu invasisset, conpulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumsedit intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. 8. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul iam urbe, cum intrare vellent, excepit insidiis. 9. Caesa ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. 10. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro umquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit; adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. 11. Postremo, cum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

62 **LXII.** Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt; 2. in quis, ingenuum infantem semenstrem in foro olitorio triumphum

clamasse, 3. et in foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et navium speciem de caelo adfulsisse, et aedem Spei, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam: 4. et Lanuvi hastam se commovisse et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinari consedisse, 5. et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. 6. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum. Et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. 7. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque maiores quibus editum est dis caesae, 8. et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est, et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes adtenuatae erant, imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido; 9. Romae quoque et lectisternium Iuventati et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, 10. et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere iussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. 11. Haec procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos. 62

LXIII. Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae legiones, quae Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. 2. Hic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum certaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat, (3.) invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam 63

63 Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. 4. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. 5. Ob haec ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis inpedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. 6. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus movit; non cum senatu modo, sed iam cum dis inmortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere. 7. Consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie dis atque hominibus non paruisse; 8. nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iovis optimi maximi templum adiret; ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque; ne Latinas indiceret Iovique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret; ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. 9. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exilii causa solum vertisset. 10. Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum et in deversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum. 11. Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. 12. In eam legationem—legatos enim mitti placuit—Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum moverunt quam priore consulatu litterae moverant ab senatu missae. 13. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, inmolantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sac-

rificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantes 63
cruore respersit; 14. fuga procul etiam maior apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. 15. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis in Etruriam per Appennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.

NOTES.

The references to the Text are by chapter and line: thus **4**, 12 denotes the twelfth line of the fourth chapter.

An obelus (†) denotes that the reading of the Latin text is doubtful (v.l. = *varia lectio* = variant reading).

Such proper names of importance as are not discussed in the Notes will be found in the Index.

Ch. 1. ARGUMENT.—*I may fairly say that the war which I am about to chronicle is in many respects the most notable in history.*

[See Index for Hamilcar and Hannibal; and read Introduction, §§ iii., iv.]

1. 1. **parte**: "section." Livy designed his *History* to fill 150 Books, divided into fifteen decades or sections of ten Books each. The present Book therefore commences the third decade, the whole of which is occupied with the history of the Second Punic War. **praefari**: "to say by way of preface." Upon this word depends the accusative and infinitive *me . . . scripturum esse*.

2. **rerum scriptores**: this, or the fuller phrase *rerum gestarum scriptores*, is the Latin for "historians," "writers of history." Livy is thinking in particular of the Greek historian Thucydides, who wrote an account of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.) between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians and their respective allies.

3. **gesta sint**: subjunctive as being the verb of a relative clause in dependent statement. On the other hand the indicative is used in the relative clause *quod . . . gessere*, which further defines *bellum*, that clause not being felt to form part of the dependent statement.

4. **Hannibale duce**: lit. "with Hannibal (as) leader," ablative absolute, otherwise called ablative of attendant circumstance. Here, as often, an English abstract expression should be used in rendering the concrete Latin substantive; say "under the command of Hannibal."

6. **opibus**: "resources," ablative of respect, expressing that in respect of which the adjective *validiores* is applied. **inter se**: join with *contulerunt arma*, "crossed swords *with* one another." The phrase occurs again two lines below (*inter sese*), where it must be joined with *ignotas* ("unknown *to* one another"). Notice the

different English renderings of the preposition (*inter*). **civitates gentesque**: *civitates* are different *political* communities, "states"; *gentes* are "nations" differing in blood.

7. **his ipsis**: dative of the possessor with *fuit est mihi* = ("I have"). The words refer to the Romans and the Carthaginians. **virium aut roboris**: the genitives are partitive, dependent upon *tantum* (= "such an amount"). The disjunctive *aut* shows that *vires* and *robur* denote different things. The former is "strength" for attack; the latter is "stamina," the power to withstand attack.

8. **expertas**: in a passive sense, "tested." The perfect participles of many verbs otherwise deponent are thus used. **primo . . . bello**: 264-241 B.C. The ablative is that of date ("time when").

8. **haud ignotas**: *haud* negatives words, not clauses, and is stronger than *non*; *haud* is very commonly used (as here) with adjectives and adverbs beginning with a negative prefix (*in-* or *dis-*).

10. **Mars**: the name of the god of war stands in lieu of the thing itself. Similarly *Iuppiter* = "the sky," *Neptunus* = "the sea," *Volcanus* = "fire," *Bacchus* = "wine." *Anceps* means "double-faced," "facing both ways," and so "doubtful." **periculum**: *propius* and *proxime* can govern the accusative by analogy with *prope*. **fuerint**: as the principal verb (*fuit*) is in historic time, the normal rule of sequence would require a historic tense (*essent*) is the dependent clause. But in consecutive clauses the perfect subjunctive is sometimes used after a historic principal verb to express the final result, and the present is similarly used of a result still continuing. Examples are rare in Cicero and Caesar, but more frequent in Livy. **qui vicerunt**: *i.e.* the Romans. The clause supplies the subject to *fuerint*. **Romanis indignantibus**: another ablative absolute, here equivalent to a causal clause ("because . . . "). The participle *indignantibus* must be repeated with *Poenis* in the same construction.

12. **victoribus**: dative of the indirect object with *arma inferrent* (= "attacked"). The Romans are meant, as *victi* denotes the Carthaginians, with reference to the issue of the First Punic War. **ultro**: connected with *ultra*, "beyond"; the words means "beyond what was to be expected," and so "voluntarily," "without provocation." For the Carthaginians forced the Romans into war by their attack upon Saguntum.

13. **inferrent**: subjunctive of the reported cause, *i.e.* expressing the reason which presented itself to the minds of the Romans at the time. Translate: "because, *as the Romans reflected*, the vanquished party were attacking," etc. **superbe avareque**: the allusion is probably to the annexation of Sardinia by Rome, 237 B.C., after the revolt of the Carthaginians' mercenary troops there, and to the exaction of 1200 talents (£292,500) as an indemnity for the military preparations made with a view to enforcing the Roman demands. The refusal of Rome to make peace in 241 B.C. save on harder terms than those granted by Lutatius Catulus (Introduction, p. xiii.) may also have been in the writer's mind. **crederent**: we should expect the indicative *credebant*. The subjunctive may be explained in two ways. (1) It is due to assimilation to the mood of *inferrent* in the corresponding clause above.

(2) It is analogous to the idiom of such a sentence as *recitavit litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret*, which is a confusion between (*a*) *recitavit litteras quas . . . dicebat*, and (*b*) *recitavit litteras quas sibi misissem*, where the subjunctive *misissem* is that of reported or alleged description, just as *inferrent* (above) is subjunctive of the reported or alleged reason. For a somewhat similar instance of carelessness in English, cp. the sentence, "He went away because he said it was late."

14. **imperitatum . . . esse**: impersonal passive (literally "that it had been ruled over the vanquished"). As *imperitare* is an intransitive verb (and accordingly governs the dative, *victis*), this is the only way in which it admits of use in the passive voice. **fama est**: "there is a story that." Upon this phrase depends the rest of the sentence down to *adactum*, the subject being *Hannibalem*, and the main predicate being *iure iurando adactum* (sc. *esse*), "was bound by oath," *i.e.* "swore." Upon this depends *se . . . hostem fore*. Converted into direct narrative we should have (*a*) in the first part of the sentence *Hannibal . . . blandiens . . . admotus . . . adactus est*; and (*b*) in the second part *ego, cum primum potero, hostis ero*.

15. **annorum . . . novem**: genitive of quality. **patri**: indirect object of the intransitive *blandientem*.

16. **Africo bello**: *i.e.* the Mercenary War, see Introduction, § iv.

17. **eo**: "thither," *i.e.* to Spain.

18. **sacris**: *i.e.* the flesh of the victims of the sacrifice.

20. **Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae**: literally "Sicily and Sardinia lost," *i.e.* "the loss of Sicily and Sardinia." Similarly *urbs capta* = "the capture of the city," *urbs condita* = "the foundation of the city," *interemptus Hector* = "the death of Hector." **nam et Siciliam**: the rest of the chapter is in *oratio obliqua*, depending upon some such verb as "he thought" or "he said," easily understood from the context. With *concessam* and *interceptam*, sc. *esse*.

22. **motum Africae**: the Mercenary War. **stipendio . . . inposito**: the indemnity of 1,200 talents mentioned in the note on l. 13.

Ch. 2-6. ARGUMENT.—*In Spain Hamilcar was succeeded by Hasdrubal, who did more by diplomacy than by force to extend the power of Carthage. He concluded a new treaty with Rome, recognising the Ebro as the limit of the Carthaginian influence, and Saguntum as a neutral State. To Hasdrubal succeeded Hannibal, despite the opposition of Hanno. Hannibal was a thorough soldier, but a faithless and cruel man. He began his career by reducing the tribes lying between him and Saguntum, winning a notable battle on the Ebro. The Saguntines sent to Rome to ask for help against the impending attack. The Senate, however, refused to declare war.*

[See Index for Carthago Nova, Hasdrubal, Longus, Saguntum, Scipio (1).]

2. 1. **sub**: *sub* used in a temporal sense with the accusative signifies "immediately after," as here, or "immediately before."

2. **quinque annos**: in reality the war lasted probably less than *four* years, viz. 240–238 B.C.

3. **novem annis**: in Latin of the best period duration of time is regularly expressed by the accusative; cp. 1. 9, *octo ferme annos*. The use of the ablative instead of the accusative, sometimes found in Livy, is mainly post-Augustan. **augendo . . . imperio**: this use of the ablative of the gerundive (or gerund) to express manner or circumstance, where other writers would prefer a dependent clause (introduced *e.g.* by *dum*), is characteristic of Livy's style.

4. **appareret**: "it was obvious," much stronger than "it seemed" or "it appeared" (*videretur*). **agitare**: "have in mind," "meditate," a common meaning. The direct form would be *maius, quam quod gerit, agitat in animo bellum.*

5. **Hamilcare duce**: cp. *Hannibale duce*, **1**, 4.

6. **Poenos . . . inlaturos fuisse**: the oblique form of *Poeni . . . intulissent*. *Italiae* is dative, like *victoribus* in **1**, 12, as also is *cui*. **Hannibalis ductu**: used for the sake of variety instead of *Hannibale duce*.

9. **octo ferme annos**: accusative of duration of time. **obtinuit**: "maintained," "held." *Obtinere* rarely means "to obtain." **flore aetatis**: "youth and beauty."

10. **uti**: the older form of *ut*; the meaning being "as," it is of course constructed with the indicative. The subject of *ferunt*, "men say," is unexpressed because indefinite. **primo**: adverbial, "in the first instance," "originally," answered by *inde* below. **gener**: predicatively with *adscitus*, "accepted as his son-in-law."

11. **profecto**: "assuredly," "certainly," in contrast with *uti ferunt* above.

12. **factionis Barcinae**: the party in the State which supported the policy of Barca (Hamilcar), *i.e.* the anti-Roman, popular, or war-party. *Opibus*, like *voluntate*, is an instrumental ablative with *positus*.

13. **principum**: the nobles of Carthage, who, being for the most part capitalists and merchants, naturally belonged to the peace party, and disliked Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal, equally. Their chief spokesman was Hanno (**3**. 3).

15. **hospitiis . . . regulorum**: "by entertaining the various petty chiefs." The genitive is objective, *i.e.* the *reguli* were the persons whom he entertained. *Magis* is resumed by *quam* in the next line.

17. **nihilo . . . tutior**: "none the safer," literally "by nothing the more safe," the ablative being that of the measure of difference, as in *nihilo minus*, *nihilo magis*, "none the less," "none the more," etc. *Pax* is here equivalent to "peaceful methods."

18. **barbarus**: a "native" of Spain. **ob iram obtruncati . . . domini**: "by reason of his (the native's) anger at the execution of his master, who had been put to death by Hasdrubal." The genitive is causal, *i.e.* it explains the cause of the anger.

21. **eo . . . habitu**: ablative of description, here doing duty as a

predicate. *Is*, *ea*, *id*, followed by *ut* and a subjunctive, is the equivalent of the English "such (that)." **dolores**: object of *superante*, which stands with *laetitia* in the ablative absolute.

22. **praebuerit**: the usual sequence would be *praeberet*; see the note on *fuerint*, **1**, 10.

23. **mirae artis . . . fuerat**: genitive of quality doing duty as predicate (predicative genitive); cp. the similar use of the ablative above, *eo fuit habitu oris*.

24. **foedus**: the treaty of 241 B.C. **ut**: "to the effect that," these consecutive clauses giving the purport of the additions made in the revised treaty.

26. **mediis**: this is inaccurate, inasmuch as Saguntum lay considerably to the south of the Ebro.

3. 1. **in Hasdrubalis locum**: as there is no construction for these words in the present text, it is probable that the sentence is an instance of anacoluthon, *i.e.* begins in one way and ends in another, so as to be grammatically irregular. Translate "to fill Hasdrubal's place."

2. **praerogativam militarem**: we should say "his nomination by the army." The word *praerogativa* is borrowed from the methods of Roman *comitia* ("polling"), in which the voting was by *centuries* or tribes. The *praerogativa* (sc. *centuria* or *tribus*) was the one selected by lot to record its vote first. The word *praerogativa* was also used (as here) in the derived sense of "first vote." It refers to the action of the troops in Spain, who chose Hannibal as their new commander without waiting for instructions from the Government at home.

3. **praetorium**: "headquarters." So again, **43**, 41. This too is a Roman expression, and strictly means the general's tent, which stood near the centre of a Roman camp; for the original title of the commander of a Republican army was not *consul* but *praetor* (*prae* + *ire*, "he that goes before" the host). The word occurs in the sense of "commander" in l. 15 below.

6. **acta**: *rem agere* is "to debate a matter." The *senatus* here referred to is of course that of Carthage, just as *plebs* is used above for the Commons of Carthage. **Barcinis**: substantival, "those of the Barcine party," for which see note on **2**, 12.

8. **aecum**: the early Latin form was *aequom*; the weakening of *o* to *u* resulted first in *aecum*, and later in *aequum*. So with other words containing a *k*- sound followed by a *u*-sound; e.g. *equŏs*, *ecus*, *equus*; *quom*, *cum*, *quum*. *Aecus* here bears the not uncommon meaning of "fair," "reasonable."

10. **ancipitis**: "ambiguous."

12. **fruendum praebuit**: "gave to the service of" (lit. to be enjoyed by), the predicative gerundive expressing purpose. The gerundive even of deponent verbs is always passive in meaning.

13. **eum**: resuming the word *florem*. *Repetere* is "to claim in return."

14. **pro**: "by way of," "under pretence of."

15. **libidini**: *libido* is the conduct of a man who does as he likes (*ut libet*), "caprice." **an hoc timemus**: "surely we have no fear of this." *An* properly introduces the second and subsequent members of a *compound* question, direct or indirect (*e.g.* **4**, 11). When used, as here, to introduce a single direct question, it implies that the question is only rhetorically asked and is practically equivalent to a negation.

16. **regni paterni**: "such a sovereignty as his father enjoyed." Cp. *regis* in the next line. Hamilcar was not *rex*, and never enjoyed *regnum*; but he had done very much as he liked in Spain, and his opponent Hanno uses the words sarcastically.

17. **cuius regis**: in English the substantive must be transferred to the antecedent clause (*eius . . . serviamus*). **hereditarii**: "as an inheritance," with a sneer at the way in which the Barcini had monopolised control of the armies in Spain. **sint relicti**: subjunctive by assimilation, being dependent upon another verb in that mood (*serviamus*).

20. **aequo**: here in the sense of "equal," "impartial." **ne quandoque**: *ne quando* is more usual.

4. 1. **optimus quisque**: "all the best (*i.e.* most patriotic)."

2. **vicit**: "prevailed over"; also absolutely in **6**, 21.

4. **in se convertit**: "attached to himself." Contrast the meaning in **3**, 11 ("drew upon himself").

5. **credere**: historic infinitive, *i.e.* infinitive taking the place of a finite verb (*credebant*); so *intueri*. This idiom is confined to (*a*) principal sentences, (*b*) the present tense of the infinitive, and (*c*) the first and third persons. It is also (*d*) usually employed only in graphic and hurried narrative. So here it suggests the "flutter" among the troops on Hannibal's arrival.

6. **habitum . . . lineamentaque**: the two words differ as "expression" from "features."

7. **brevi**: sc. *tempore*, "quickly." **pater in se**: "(what there was of) his father in him," *i.e.* "his likeness to his father." **mōmentum**: "force," or "motive." The word (from *mŏvēre*, *mŏvimentum*) means originally what "moves" or "turns" the beam of a pair of scales.

9. **parendum atque imperandum**: the gerunds are in apposition to *res diversissimas*.

10. **discerneres**: potential subjunctive, *i.e.* subjunctive in the apodosis of a conditional sentence of which the protasis is suppressed, "you could not easily have determined (*if you had tried*)." Thus used potentially the imperfect subjunctive refers to past time. The second person singular subjunctive is often used where the subject is (as here) indefinite (= French *on*).

12. **malle . . . confidere . . . audere**: historic infinitives, for *maluit*, *confisi sunt*, *ausi sunt*; see note on *credere*, l. 5.

13. **agendum esset**: in Latin of the best period we should have had *agendum erat*, the indicative being used to express repeated occurrence, as in the sentence *Cum ad villam veni, nihil agere me delectat*,

"whenever I have got to my country house, I love to be idle." The use of the subjunctive in such sentences (iterative subjunctive) is a mark of silver Latinity; cp. l. 19, *id quod . . . superesset*, "whatever *on each occasion* remained over," and two good examples in **35**, 6 and 9. **alio duce**: to be taken as ablative absolute.

17. **par**: sc. *erat*, and so with *finitus*, and *erant* with *discriminata*. The ellipsis of the substantive verb is too common to need notice again.

20. **superesset**: iterative subjunctive; see on note l. 13.

21. **sagulo**: the heavy "cape" or "surtout" of the common soldier.

22. **humi**: locative, "on the ground." **custodias stationesque**: *custodia* is "sentry-duty" at the gates, *statio*, "outpost-duty" further afield.

23. **aequales**: here simply his "fellows," "fellow-soldiers"; strictly it means "equals in age."

24. **conspiciebantur**: emphatic, "were sights to see."

25. **princeps . . . ibat**: "he was the first to go." So *ultimus excedebat*, "he was the last to retire."

26. **conserto proelio**: *conserere proelium* or *conserere manus* is "to engage," "give battle." The case is ablative of separation.

28. **Punica**: Carthaginian merchants were notorious for sharp practice. Nothing is known, however, to justify this charge against Hannibal.

29. **ius iurandum**: "respect for an oath." **religio**: "religious scruples," "conscience." The Roman equivalent for "religion" is either *religiones*, plural, or *sacra*.

30. **triennio**: we should expect the accusative (of duration of time), with or without *per*; see note on *novem annis*, **2**, 3.

31. **meruit**: sc. *stipendium*, literally "earned a soldier's pay," and so "served campaigns," "campaigned."

32. **duci**: dative of the agent, as usual with gerunds and gerundives. **esset**: the relative clause has a consecutive or generic force (*quae* = "of such sort as"); hence the subjunctive mood.

5. 1. **ex quo die**: the substantive is attracted into the relative clause.

2. **provincia decreta**: another Roman phrase. *Provincia* meant the "sphere of duty" of a Roman magistrate, usually territorial (whence our word "a province"), but not necessarily so; *e.g.* a magistrate might have as his *provincia* the duty of supplying Rome with corn. The senate determined (*decernere*) what the *provinciae* of the magistrates should be. **bellum Romanum**: "war against the Romans."

5. **quibus oppugnandis quia**: "but because by any attack on them . . . ," equivalent to "if he attacked them." Translate: "To attack them (the Saguntines) *was* to begin war with Rome."

6. **movebantur**: apodosis of a conditional sentence of which the protasis is contained in *quibus oppugnandis*. In apodoses in which the subjunctive would be expected the indicative is occasionally found (as here), the occurrence which would take place on the condition being

realised being thus for vividness' sake represented as actually taking place.

7. **ultra**: *i.e.* on the south side of the Ebro; this *from the Roman point of view* was "beyond" the river. By the treaty between Carthage and Rome, all "beyond the Ebro" was Carthaginian. But it had not by any means all been conquered yet; it was rather *in parte*, within Carthage's "sphere of influence," than *in dicione*, actually in her control.

9. **ut**: final, "in order that," *non* going closely with *petisse*.

12. **quo metu**: "fear *of which* (*sc.* fate)."

13. **stipendio**: the word properly means "payment," "pay." Hence it has two general uses: (*a*) the "pay" of troops, as in l. 15; (*b*) the "tribute" paid by a subject people to their conquerors. The latter is the sense here.

14. **hiberna**: sc. *castra*, "winter quarters," *i.e.* for the winter 220-219 B.C.

15. **ibi**: another instance of anacoluthon (cp. **3**, 1, note). The *grammatical* subject of the sentence is *bellum*; yet the words *in se*, which ought according to rule to refer to the subject only, obviously refer to *Hannibal*, the implied subject of the verbals *partiendo* and *exsolvendo*, and the *logical* subject of the entire sentence. **stipendio praeterito**: "arrears of pay."

16. **cum fide**: "honestly." The same meaning would be conveyed by *cum summa fide*, *summa fide*, or by the adverb *fideliter*. But the substantive alone could not be used to convey this meaning. The exceptions to this rule are very few. **exsolvendo**: *pecuniam solvere*, or *exsolvere*, is "to pay," "pay off," a debt, etc.

18. **Hermandica et Arbocala**: the former is now Salamanca, the latter is unknown.

20. **ab Hermandica**: the town whence motion takes place is according to rule expressed by a simple ablative; the use of a preposition seems to have been a colloquialism. **exulibus**: dative of the indirect object with *iunxissent*.

23. **procul Tago**: Livy is the first prose writer to use *procul* as a preposition; earlier prose always has *procul a* (or *ab*).

25. **cum . . . fuit**: in historic narrative *cum*, "when," takes the indicative (1) when the temporal clause is introduced in order to mark the time at which the action of the principal verb takes place; and (2) in iterative clauses (see note on **4**, 13). **ab hostibus**: literally "from the direction of the foe." So *a dextra* "(from *i.e.*) on the right," *a tergo* "(from *i.e.*) in the rear."

26. **ita**: Hannibal placed his infantry above and below the ford behind the shelter of an earthen rampart. *Vallum* is properly the earthen rampart thrown up in front of a Roman camp.

28. **ingressos**: sc. *hostes*. **†inpeditum**: "hampered," because they were floundering in the water. There is another reading *peditum*, emphasising the contrast between the dismounted Spaniards and the mounted Numidian troops. **Carpetanorum**: the genitive depends on *milia*, with which *acies* stands in apposition.

32. **invicta . . . si . . . dimicaretur**: "a force *which would have been* invincible, if the fighting had occurred on level ground." The apodosis to the conditional clause is contained in *invicta*. *Dimicaretur* is an instance of the Latin use of an intransitive verb in the impersonal passive, where English employs an abstract verbal.

34. **metu**: causal ablative, "because he (the enemy) was afraid." **id**: explained by the following substantival clause *quod interesset amnis*, "this only, viz. the fact that the river lay between." The mood of *interesset* shows the clause forms part of what the Spaniards are represented as saying to themselves: *id moratur victoriam, quod interest amnis*.

36. **qua cuique proximum est**: lit. "by which way it was nearest for each (to do so)," *i.e.* "each by the shortest way."

39. **quippe ubi**: *quippe qui* = "inasmuch as he," or "for in fact he"; so *quippe ubi* = "for in fact there." The mood after *quippe qui*, etc., may be either indicative or (as here, *gereret*) subjunctive. *Posset* is subjunctive by assimilation to *gereret*.

40. **vel**: here (as often) *vel* = "even," "actually." **temere**: "haphazard," "without guidance."

43. **hostis**: the accusative plural of masculine and feminine substantives and adjectives which form genitive plural in *-ium* is correctly written *-is*, not *-es*.

45. **in unum**: "to one spot." Livy is fond of this substantival use of adjectives, especially those of three terminations, in prepositional phrases; cp. *de integro*, **6**, 15.

46. **reciperent**: when *antequam* and *priusquam* are found with the indicative, the only assertion is that one thing occurred before another; but when these conjunctions are used with the subjunctive, it is implied that the action expressed by the subjunctive is purposely anticipated or (if the principal verb is negatived) is purposely awaited.

47. **agmine quadrato**: "in battle order," for the Romans went into battle in rectangular formations. What we mean by "in square formation," the Romans expressed by the word *orbis*. Cp. **56**, 5.

50. **Carthaginiensium erant**: "belonged to Carthage." The genitive is predicative.

6. 3. **Turdetanis**: for the geographical difficulty suggested in calling this tribe *finitimi* of Saguntum, see the Index. **adesset**: *adesse alicui* is "to appear for a man," "to support a man," as counsel his client in a law-court. **qui . . . sator**: "who had also sowed the seeds of strife."

4. **certamen iuris**: "contention at law," *i.e.* "arbitration."

6. **orantes**: Caesar would have written *oratum* (supine) or *qui . . . orarent*, for the word is really intended to convey the *reason why* they were sent, *i.e.* it expresses purpose, and this the present participle cannot do in the best Latin. **Romae**: locative.

7. **Ti**: *Tiberius*. Livy is in error, for the consuls here named are those of 218 B.C., whereas the embassy of the Saguntines occurred in the year preceding (219 B.C.). See further on **15**, 11.

8. **rettulissent**: the principal verb to which this and the following verbs are subordinate does not come until l. 15, *adlatum est*, the sentence being interrupted by (*a*) the purport of the resolution arrived at by the Senate (*mitti . . . deferrent*), and (*b*) an ablative absolute (*hae . . . missa*) summarising the position of affairs. **de re publica**: we should say "on the (political) situation." The phrase *de aliqua re referre*, or (as in l. 15) *rem referre*, means "to bring forward a motion," "to raise a debate," upon such and such a point, in the Senate.

9. **placuisset**: used in reference to the Senate and similar bodies, *placuit* means "it was resolved." **mitti**: the direct form would be *mittuntor legati . . . quibus si videbitur . . . denuntianto ut . . . abstineat . . . traiciunto . . . deferunto.*

14. **omnium spe celerius**: "sooner than anyone had expected it." *Spes* is here (as often) used in the neutral sense of "expectation."

15. **de integro**: "afresh," "anew"; cp. *in unum*, **5**, 45.

17. **decernentes**: the participle is equivalent to *decernebant et*, the force of the imperfect being "were anxious to decree," "were for decreeing." **terra marique**: "by land and sea," one of the few phrases in which a common substantive in the ablative of "place where" requires no preposition.

18. **totum in . . . intendebant bellum**: *i.e.* wanted to see the war entirely directed against. . .

19. **qui . . . censerent**: generic use, a variety of the consecutive subjunctive; "there were some (such as) to vote," *i.e.* some voted.

20. **exspectandos**: in the usual sense of *exspectare*, "to wait for."

21. **eo maturius**: "all the sooner" (literally "by that the sooner").

23. **si non absisteretur**: impersonal, "if there were no cessation of the war." The apodosis to the condition is to be gathered from the context. Their orders were: Go to Saguntum to Hannibal, and if he will not desist, go on to Carthage. **in poenam foederis rupti**: "to be punished for his breach of the treaty." *In* with the accusative frequently conveys an idea of purpose in view. For the rendering of the participle *rupti*, see note on **1**, 20.

Ch. 7-9, l. 6. Argument.—*In the meantime Hannibal advanced to Saguntum and laid siege to it. The defence, however, was vigorous, and Hannibal himself was seriously wounded; but his rams gradually breached the walls, and a fierce battle followed, in which the Saguntines, thanks mainly to their use of the phalarica, not only held their own but actually drove the storming party back to the Carthaginian lines.*

7. 1. **dum . . . parant**: when meaning "*within* (not *throughout*) the time that" *dum* is used with the present indicative even of past events, as here.

3. **passus**: accusative of extent of space.

4. **oriundi**: sc. *cives*, understood from *civitas*. *Oriundus* (from *orior*) is an old gerundival form which has the same meaning as the past participle (*ortus*). **a Zacyntho**: the ablative of origin is generally used without a preposition; with *ab* it denotes a remote source.

Zacynthus, now Zante, is an island of the Ionian Sea off Elis rather than Aetolia. In the Latin orthography of the third century B.C. or earlier the Greek name ZAKYNTHO(S) would be transliterated SACUNTO(M), *i.e.* Saguntum. There seems to be no means of proving or disproving this story of the origin of Saguntum. Its inhabitants were certainly half Greek.

8. **fidem socialem**: "their loyalty as Rome's allies."

10. **tripertito**: "from three sides at once."

11. **circa**: adverb. Many prepositions thus retain their original adverbial character, e.g. *circum*, *iuxta*, *super*, *supra*.

12. **vineas agere**: "to drive mantlets." The *vineae* were penthouses, or sheds, of rough boards covered with raw hides, under the protection of which sappers could work without exposing themselves to the enemy's missiles. Wet sacks were laid on the roof as a protection from fire. The *vineae* were mounted on wheels, so they could be pushed forward as occasion required. **aries**: a "battering ram," *i.e.* an enormous beam suspended by chains in such a fashion as to swing backwards and forwards in the direction of its axis; the forward end was shod with metal, to "butt" the enemy's wall.

13. **ut . . . ita . . .**: literally "just as . . . even so . . . ," *i.e.* "while . . . yet . . . ," "though . . . yet . . ." The mood in each clause is indicative.

14. **aecus**: see **3**, 8, note. **agendis vineis**: dative of purpose.

15. **postquam . . . ventum est**: "after the rams had been got into an effective position for action," *i.e.* within striking distance. Latin commonly prefers the perfect with *postquam*, *uti*, *cum*, where English uses the pluperfect. **coeptis succedebat**: the verb is impersonal and *coeptis* is dative, "success followed his undertaking *or* attempts."

16. **ut in suspecto loco**: an instance of the "restrictive" use of *ut*, "as was natural." *Suspecto* implies that the Saguntines had anticipated that the spot would be selected for attack. **emunitus**: the force of the prefix is "up and over" the adjacent parts of the wall.

20. **submovere**: historic infinitive, as *pati* and *micare*. See note on *credere*, **4**, 5. The subject is *iuventus delecta*. *Submovere* means "to make to move on," and so "to drive away." **munientibus**: sc. *hostibus*, *i.e.* the Carthaginians. *Munire* here means "to erect siege-works (*munitiones*)."

22. **micare**: "flew" or "flashed." The two ideas run together, because that which moves rapidly seems also to twinkle. **opera**: as we speak of "(siege-) works." For *stationes*, see note on **4**, 22.

24. **ferme**: "generally," "on an average."

25. **incautius**: "too carelessly," "somewhat carelessly"; absolute use of the comparative. **adversum femur . . . ictus**: "dangerously wounded in the front of the thigh"; accusative of the part affected. The usual prose construction is the ablative of respect, here avoided probably on account of the presence of the ablative *tragula*.

26. **circa**: adverb, as in l. 11.

27. **non multum abesset quin . . .**: "there was little wanting but that the works should be abandoned," *i.e.* "the works were all but abandoned." In this idiom *abest*, *aberat*, etc., are always impersonal.

8. 1. **obsidio . . . oppugnatio**: the two words are contrasted as "blockade" with "assault."

2. **dum curaretur**: *dum* is followed by the subjunctive when purpose is implied (= "in order that meanwhile").

3. **ut . . . ita**: cp. **7**, 13. **quies certaminum**: "respite *from* fighting." The genitive is that of the "remoter object"; *i.e.* whereas the ordinary objective genitive corresponds to an accusative governed by the cognate verb (*e.g. virtutis amor*, *virtutem amo*), so this genitive of the remoter object corresponds to an ablative or prepositional phrase (*e.g. obsidionis quies*, *ab obsidione quiesco*).

4. **nihil cessatum**: impersonal, "there was no pause."

5. **accipientibus**: "admitting of," "allowing," the construction of works.

6. **coeptae agi**: whenever the dependent infinitive is passive, *coeptus est*, etc., is preferred to *coepit*; cp. 1. 9, *distineri coepti*.

7. **ad**: adverb, "roughly."

11. **una**: sc. *pars*. **continentibus ruinis**: literally "by continuous downfalls," *i.e.* by the fall of successive portions.

12. **tres deinceps turres**: "three consecutive towers," lit. "three towers in succession."

14. **qua**: ablative of the way by which, referring to the breach (*ruina*) just made.

16. **pugnae**: dative, as usual with *similis* and *dissimilis*, except with substantives denoting persons and with personal pronouns, which usually stand in the genitive; e.g. *similis sui*, "like oneself."

17. **occasionem**: in its usual sense of "opportunity."

18. **iustae acies**: "regular battle-array." So *iustum proelium* "a pitched battle," *iusta legio* "a full legion," *iusta victoria* (see **53**, 1).

20. **hinc . . . hinc** . . . "on the one side . . . on the other . . ."; cp. note on **11**, 19.

21. **cepisse**: he would have said to himself *cepi . . . si adnitar* (future), where the perfect *cepi* is vividly used in lieu of the more logical *cepero*.

22. **moenibus**: ablative of separation with *nudata*, "stripped of walls."

24. **quo . . . eo . . .**: literally "by what the more fiercely . . . by that the more numerous . . . ," *i.e.* "the more fiercely they fought, the more of them were wounded."

25. **nullo . . . telo**: the ablative here has the force of a causal clause. *Vano* is predicative, "without effect."

27. **hastili abiegno**: ablative of description. **cetera**: accusative of extent.

28. **extremum**: substantival, "the end."

29. **pilo**: the *pilum*, "pike" or "javelin," of the Roman soldier,

a heavy wooden shaft five-and-a-half feet long carrying a nine-inch iron head.

30. **pedes**: accusative of extent of space.

31. **id**: "the (following) fact," explained by the clauses *quod . . . praebebat*.

33. **medium**: "in the middle." **conceptum**: "kindled" on it. *Maiorem* is predicative, "a flame that grew greater," and *ipso motu* stands with *maiorem* as an ablative of cause.

9. 2. **resisterent**: subjunctive of the reported reason; so *vicisset*. See note on *inferrent*, **1**, 13.

3. **pro victo**: "as good as vanquished."

Ch. 9, l. 7-15. Argument.—*The Roman envoys, refused a hearing by Hannibal, passed on to Carthage. Hanno advocated complete submission to Rome; but he met with no support, and Carthage made an evasive reply. The siege meantime went on, uninterrupted by the temporary withdrawal of Hannibal to reduce a revolt of the Spanish tribes. An attempt to induce the Saguntines to accept terms proved unavailing. Many of the inhabitants preferred to destroy themselves and their property in one great bonfire, which was still blazing when the Carthaginians took the town. There is considerable question as to the dates of the beginning and end of the siege.*

[See Index for Hanno, Maharbal.]

7. **ab**: the simple ablative might be expected; cp. note on **5**, 20.

8. **qui dicerent**: subjunctive of purpose.

10. **operae esse**: *operae* is predicative dative, "a matter for attention."

13. **factionis Barcinae**: see note on **2**, 12. **ut praepararent**: the construction is that which would be used after a verb of commanding (e.g. *imperare*), because the expression *litteras praemittit* implies "sent forward *orders* by letter."

14. **quid**: accusative of extent, "in some point," *i.e.* by some concession. **pars altera**: the party of Hanno (**3**, 8).

10. 3. **causam . . . egit**: *causam agere* is "to conduct *or* plead a case."

5. **obtestans**: the construction is *obtestans* ("calling to witness") *senatum, se monuisse* (*et*) *praedixisse, ne . . . mitterent* ("not to send"), *ne suscitarent* ("lest they should provoke").

8. **manes**: "ghost," "spirit," used in the plural even of a single person's spirit. *Eius viri* refers to Hamilcar.

9. **donec . . . quisquam supersit**: strict sequence would require *superesset*, the principal verb being historic (*egit*). Primary sequence is here used to make the phrase more vivid. The use of *quisquam* is unusual: commonly it stands only in negative or quasi-negative clauses, or in questions to which a negative answer is expected.

11. **si . . . vivat**: the construction represents, in Hannibal's own words, (*una mihi est via*) *si vivam* (future). **ex bellis bella**: "war *after* war," a common meaning of *ex*. For the metaphor of *serendo*, cp. *litis sator*, **6**, 3.

12. **materiam**: not "material," but literally "wood" (the usual meaning) as fuel.

16. **per quos**: "through whose aid." With *ulti sunt*, sc. *Romani*, understood from *Romanae legiones*. **rupta foedera**: Livy makes Hanno say that the Carthaginians deserved to be beaten in the First Punic War, because it was they who had committed the first breach of the peace. Livy is thinking of the traditional story, that the war was brought about by the appearance of a Punic fleet off Tarentum in 272 B.C. to support that town, in spite of a treaty which forbade them to enter Tarentine waters. But (1) Polybius says there was no such treaty; (2) if they were, a breach of it in 272 B.C. could not account for a war which only broke out in 264 B.C.; and (3) we know that the real cause of the war was the interference of Rome on behalf of the Mamertines of Messina (see Introduction, p. xii.).

19. **bonus**: ironical.

20. **ius gentium**: it was part of the *ius gentium*, "rights of man," that envoys should be admitted to audience.

21. **ex foedere**: "*in accordance with* the terms of the treaty." *Res repetere* is "to demand satisfaction."

22. **publica fraus**: *fraus* is "wrong-doing," *publica fraus*, wrong-doing to which the entire nation is a party. If the government of Carthage refused to give the required satisfaction, they made the State at large a party to what the Romans alleged to be a wrong.

23. **reum criminis**: "him that is arraigned on the charge." *Crimen* properly means a "charge," "accusation," rarely a "crime." **quo . . . eo**: cp. **8**, 24. *Et* must be understood between the clauses *agunt . . . incipiunt*, which are coordinate.

24. **coeperint**: perfect subjunctive by assimilation to *sacriant*, representing the future-perfect (*coeperint*). *Coepi* serves as perfect of *incipio*.

25. **Aegatis**: for the spelling, cp. *hostis*, **5**, 43, and note, **quae**: "and *all the reverses* which."

28. **isti**: senators who belonged to the Barcine party. *Volunt* here means "make out," "represent."

30. **uter . . . rupisset**: dependent question, explaining *id*, "the question that was in dispute, namely, which of the two States had broken the peace."

31. **unde**: i.e. *cuius ex parte*, "on whose side."

32. **ei victoriam dedit**: instead of writing *diiudicarit*, "this the issue determined," Livy substitutes *unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit*, making the construction irregular, though the sense is clear enough. **Carthagini**: emphatic by position. So is the next sentence. **turres**: i.e. *turres mobiles* (**11**, 24), lofty towers of timber, carrying catapults and other engines of war. Running on wheels, like *vineae*, they could be pushed forward and used to drive the defenders from their walls.

34. **utinam . . . sim**: "I hope I may be." *Utinam* introduces a jussive subjunctive, expressing a wish. With the present tense the wish relates to the future, with the imperfect to the present, and with the pluperfect to the past.

35. **habendum . . . est**: "will have to be waged."

37. **in eo**: "in his case," "as regards him."

38. **paternas inimicitias**: "*my* differences with *his* father." **eo . . . quod**: "for the reason that . . ."

40. **furiam facemque**: "minister of vengeance and firebrand." The Carthaginians, according to Hanno, had incurred the divine displeasure by their failure to observe the treaty with Rome, and Hannibal will play the part of a Fury, the Furies being the goddesses of vengeance.

41. **nec dedendum**: sc. *esse.* Some such verb as *censeo* must be supplied.

43. **eo unde**: "to a place whence." The relative clause has a consecutive sense ("whence" = "such that thence"), as the mood of *possit* shows.

46. **satisfaciant**: subjunctive of purpose. So also *nuntient* and *dedant.*

47. **ut . . . abducat**: the construction is adapted to the sense of *nuntient* (= *imperent*); see note on **9**, 13.

11. 3. **Hannibalis erat**: "was *on the side* of Hannibal." The genitive is predicative: cp. *militum fore*, l. 15.

4. **Flaccus Valerius**: his full name was Publius Valerius Flaccus (**6**, 22); when the praenomen or personal name is omitted, the family name often precedes that of the gens or clan.

8. **praeponat**: subjunctive of reported condition. The original answer was *iniuste facit populus Romanus, si . . . praeponit.*

9. **terunt**: for the mood and tense, see note on **7**, 1.

10. **fessum**: predicative with *habebat*, "his troops were worn out."

11. **paucorum . . . dierum**: genitive of quality with *quietem.*

13. **ira . . . spe**: instrumental ablatives with *stimulando.* **stimulando**: instrumental ablative with *accendit.*

14. **pro contione**: the regular word for a meeting held in camp.

16. **resisti videretur posse**: impersonal; sc. *eis.*

17. **ut . . . ita**: see note on **7**, 13.

19. **ab ea parte**: "*in* that direction," "*at* that point."

21. **aliquanto**: "*very* much." The word implies a large measure.

22. **qua . . . ferrent**: indirect question depending upon *scire.* In direct form the question is *qua parte feramus opem?* "where are we to bring help?" *i.e.* it is deliberative.

24. **turris mobilis**: see note on **10**, 32.

26. **catapultis ballistisque**: various forms of artillery, the former throwing darts, the latter heavy stones. **tabulata**: "storeys," "floors," made of planks (*tabulae*).

27. **defensoribus**: ablative of separation.

28. **occasionem**: sc. *esse*, "that his opportunity was come."

29. **ab imo**: we say "*at* the bottom." For the substantival use of the adjective, see note on **5**, 45.

32. **caederetur**: iterative subjunctive; cp. **4**, 13. **patentia ruinis**: the present participle is used substantivally, "the parts left open by these collapses."

34. **eo**: adverb, "to that spot."

35. **muro circumdant**: sc. *locum*.

36. **ab**: "on the side of." *Interiorem* is predicative with *ducunt*, "constructed on the inner side."

38. **minorem in dies**: "daily less." *Cotidie* is used of a daily occurrence, *in dies* of the daily progress of a growth or decrease.

40. **longa obsidione**: ablative of cause. **cum . . . essent**: *essent* goes both with *Romani* and with *omnia*. *Circa* is an adverb, and *hostium* predicative genitive like *militum*, l. 15.

44. **conquisitoribus**: *i.e.* the agents of Hannibal engaged in collecting (*conquirere*) troops.

12. 3. **cives**: *i.e.* the Carthaginians.

4. **aliquot**: "many"; cp. *aliquanto*, **11**, 21, and *aliquantum muri*, "a large extent of wall," in the next clause.

11. **moturum**: sc. *se* as subject to the infinitive.

12. **nihil**: "in no wise," accusative of extent. The object of *movebant* is *Hannibalem* understood.

13. **ut**: "as was natural"; for this restrictive force of *ut*, cp. **7**, 16.

14. **oratore**: in its original sense of "one who pleads" (*orat*) for terms, etc. Alco was not, however, an authorised envoy (l. 10). **moriturum**: the subject of the infinitive is defined in the following relative clause.

15. **ageret**: the direct form would be *moriatur, qui . . . agat* (= *si quis agat*), a conditional sentence referring to future time.

16. **redderent**: subjunctive of reported command, the actual wording of the command being *reddite*. So below *habitarent* represents *habitate*.

18. **iussisset**: in direct speech *iusserit*, future-perfect. **leges**: "terms," a common meaning.

19. **vinci . . . vincantur**: he said *vincuntur animi* ("men's courage"), *ubi alia vincuntur*.

21. **publice**: "in a public capacity," "officially." He was somewhat in the position of a modern "consul," *i.e.* the official representative and agent of an alien people.

23. **praetorem**: "commandant." See the note on *praetorium*, **3**, 3.

24. **deductus**: *deducere* is regularly thus used for "to escort."

26. **senatus . . . datus est**: "*an audience of* the senate was accorded."

13. 3. **quo**: sc. *itinere*, "in the which journey."

6. **si metum simulavit**: the emphasis is on the verb, "if his apprehensions are fictitious." Alco had said that he was afraid to report such conditions of peace to his townsmen.

8. **pro**: "in consideration of." The word *hospitium* refers to his position as *amicus atque hospes* (**12**, 22).

9. **vobiscum**: the preposition *cum* usually becomes enclitic when coupled with a personal or relative pronoun. **vestra . . . causa**: "for your own sakes." The word *causa* must be supplied with the genitives *ullius alterius*, "for the sake of no one else." *Alterius* is commonly used as the genitive of *alius*. **me . . . loqui**: the accusative and infinitive clause depends upon *ea fides sit*, "let this be proof that I say, etc." **vel**: "even"; cp. note on **5**, 40, and below, l. 29.

11. **ea**: we might expect *id*, "the following fact," but the assimilation of the demonstrative to the gender of the complement is idiomatic. **dum . . . restitistis**: *dum* meaning "*all* the time that," "so long as," takes whatever tense the sense requires.

13. **postquam nec . . . est**: we say "*now that* you have no hope."

16. **ita . . . si**: "only on condition that . . . ." Translate: "Your only hope of peace lies in receiving meekly, like conquered men, the terms (*eam*, sc. *pacem*) which Hannibal offers sternly, like a conqueror."

18. **in damno**: *in damno habere* is "to account amongst one's losses," "to set down as loss." **victoris**: predicative genitive.

20. **vobis**: the customary dative of the indirect object with a verb signifying "to take away." **ex magna parte**: we say "*for* the most part" or "*in* great part."

22. **in quo . . . aedificetis**: "wherein to build," final subjunctive, *i.e.* subjunctive expressing purpose.

28. **haud despero**: equivalent to "I earnestly hope"; *haud* is stronger than *non*.

29. **remissurum**: sc. *Hannibalem* as subject.

30. **trucidari**: the infinitive depends on *sinatis*. So *rapi trahique*.

31. **sinatis**: the subjunctive is idiomatic after *potius quam* or *potius quam ut*.

14. 2. **concilium**: simply "gathering," "throng."

3. **secessione facta**: "their withdrawal effected," *i.e.* "withdrawing." **priusquam . . . daretur**: subjunctive, implying that the action is purposely anticipated; cp. note on **5**, 46.

4. **ex publico privatoque**: substantival, "from *stores* both public and private."

5. **conicientes**: Cicero would have written *cum coniecissent*, causality being implied, not merely contemporaneous action. **eodem**: adverb.

10. **stationibus custodiisque**: ablative of separation as in **11**, 27.

11. **non cunctandum**: gerund, "that there must be no delay."

12. **momento**: sc. *temporis*. *Momentum* (cp. note on **4**, 7) means a particle sufficient to turn (*movere*) the scale.

14. **crudele**: sc. *fuit*, to be supplied from *cognitum est*.

15. **cui parci potuit**: "who could possibly have been spared." As *parco* is intransitive ("to show mercy"), it can only be used impersonally in the passive.

17. **ante**: to be joined with *quam*. For *morientes*, Cicero or Caesar would have written *mortui sunt*; but the use of *antequam* with a participle is characteristic of Livy's style.

15. 1. **de industria**: "on purpose."

4. **redactum**: *pecuniam redigere* is "to realize a sum of money."

7. **octavo mense, quam**: for *octavo mense post quam*. So again l. 9, *quinto mense quam*. For the passive of *coeptum* with a passive infinitive (*oppugnari*), cp. note on **8**, 6.

8. **quidam**: Polybius in particular.

11. **fieri non potuit ut, etc.**: Livy finds himself involved in a difficulty as to dates. Briefly, the facts are as follows:—(i) In **6** he says that the siege of Saguntum began in the consulship of Sempronius and Scipio. (ii) It lasted eight months (**15**, 7). (iii) Hannibal then went into winter quarters; and in the *next* year started for Italy, which he reached in five months. (iv) Now the year of the consulship of Sempronius and Scipio was also that of the battle at the Trebia, viz. 218 B.C. (v) Hence it must be supposed that either (1) Saguntum was taken in much shorter time, and Hannibal at once pushed on to Italy; or (2) the siege must have commenced in 219 B.C., and ended in 218 B.C., and Hannibal must have pushed on without waiting until the next spring; or (3) the siege lasted for eight months in 218 B.C., and Hannibal did not reach the Trebia until 217 B.C. The last supposition is impossible, because Sempronius and Scipio were consuls in the battle at that place, and the battle must therefore have been fought in their year, 218 B.C. (vi) The true solution is contained in the note on **6**, 7, where it is shown that Livy is mistaken in saying that Sempronius and Scipio were consuls at the time of the embassy from Saguntum and the beginning of the siege. The true date of the embassy is the latter half of 219 B.C., and Saguntum was besieged and taken entirely within that year. So says Polybius. Livy himself seems to accept this alternative, for in **30**, 31, he again speaks of the siege as lasting eight months.

12. **ad quos**: a repetition of the mistake already made in **6**, 7.

13. **sint . . . pugnaverint**: subjunctives by assimilation to *fuerint*. **suo magistratu**: "in their own year of office," viz. 218 B.C., as contrasted with a possible year or years subsequent, in which they held office as *pro*-consuls.

18. **excessisse . . . in**: "have overflowed into," *i.e.* "have occurred so late as." The expression *pugna ad Trebiam*, "the fight at the Trebia," would not be admissible in Ciceronian Latin, which would add some such participle as *commissa*, "the fight *that was fought* at the Trebia."

19. **Cn. Servili et C. Flamini**: consuls of the year 217 B.C. The genitive singular of nominatives in *-ius* was in Livy's time generally written with one *i*, though Ovid uses *-ii*.

20. **Arimini**: locative. The argument is as follows: Sempronius held the consular *comitia* in Rome *after* the fight at Trebia; therefore Sempronius must have been himself consul at the time (for only a

consul could hold such *comitia* as a rule); and therefore the fight at Trebia must have occurred before the consulship of Flaminius began.

Ch. 16-19, l. 18. ARGUMENT.—*On the return of the envoys from Carthage to Rome, there was something like a panic in the city. The consuls were commissioned to act in Spain and Africa with the necessary forces. A second embassy to Carthage met with no better reception than the first, Carthage declining to be bound by any alleged treaty made by Hasdrubal with Rome. The Romans replied with a declaration of war. The parallel drawn by the Carthaginians between the conduct of the Roman Government in regard to Lutatius, and that of themselves in regard to Hasdrubal, does not hold good.*

[Read Introduction, §§ v., vi., and see Index for Catulus.]

1. **sub idem . . . tempus**: "immediately after, *or* (as we should say) at the same time"; cp. **2**, 1.

4. **patres**: in the restricted sense of "the senate," as often. **sociorum**: objective genitive.

5. **pudor non lati auxilii**: "shame that no succour had been sent." The genitive is that of the remoter object; cp. note on *quies certaminum*, **8**, 3.

6. **summa rerum**: "their empire," *summa* being of course a substantive.

8. **nam neqûe**: the construction from this point down to the end of the chapter is that of *oratio obliqua*. In direct speech we should have *neque hostis acrior bellicosiorque nobiscum congressus est, nec res Romana tam deses umquam fuit atque inbellis*.

11. **Sardos, Corsos, . . . Histros . . . Illyrios**: see Introduction, § v. The Sardi and Corsi are the inhabitants of Sardinia and Corsica respectively. The Histri, situated near the modern Trieste, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, were merely one amongst a number of tribes called collectively Illyrii (Index *s.v.*). In direct speech: *Sardi . . . lacessiverunt . . . exercuerunt . . .*

12. **tumultuatum**: sc. *esse*, passive voice, used impersonally; commonly the verb is deponent. *Tumultus, tumultuari*, are regularly used of Gallic risings in Italy.

14. **trium et viginti**: *i.e.* from the end of the First to the outbreak of the Second Punic War, 241-218 B.C. As a matter of fact, however, Hamilcar crossed over to Spain for the first time in 236 B.C.

18. **Gallicas gentes**: the tribes of northern Italy; cp. note on **17**, 28. **orbe terrarum**: the Latin equivalent for "the *whole* world."

17. 1. **nominatae . . . sortiri**: for *provincia*, see note on **5**, 2. At this date it was usual for the Senate to "name" two *provinciae* for the two consuls, leaving the latter to make the final arrangement by drawing lots (*sortiri*).

3. **in eum annum**: we say "*for* that year."

4. **socium**: the older form of the genitive plural (= *sociorum*). This form rarely occurs in Classical Latin prose except in the case of (*a*) names of peoples, tribes; (*b*) names of trades, measures, coins (*fabrum*, *modium*, *nummum*, *sestertium*); and (*c*) cardinal and distributive numerals. **ipsis**: the consuls; the point was usually decided by the Senate. **videretur**: "might seem *good*." This use of *videor* as a verb of complete predication is common.

6. **scripta**: "enrolled," because "written down" on the lists **mille octingenti**: *i.e.* ten *turmae* of thirty men for each legion, as was usual.

8. **quinqueremes**: "having five banks of oars" on each side. All ships of war (*naves longae*) were propelled by oars, the rowers being arranged in tiers one above the other. Five rows was the normal number at this date, but smaller vessels of four, or three banks (*quadriremes*, *triremes*, **22**, 15) were also used. [This is the usual explanation. Experiment, however, claims to have shown that such an arrangement is impracticable; but as no alternative explanation is offered, the traditional one must stand for the present.] **celoces**: "dispatch boats" of lighter burthen and driven by single banks of oars. Except in Livy the word is feminine.

9. **latum**; *ad populum ferre* is "to refer (a matter) to the people" in *comitia*. **vellent iuberent**: the actual wording of the proposal was *velitis iubeatis* (potential subjunctive) . . . *bellum indici?* "would it be your will and command that war be declared?"

12. **quod bellum**: "the war which." *Iussisset* is subjunctive of reported definition, the prayer being *bene eveniat quod . . . iussit.*

14. **ea**: not *eae*, though referring to *legiones*, but assimilated in gender to the nearest predicate, *milia*. **quaterna . . . treceni**: the distributive numerals imply that this was the total of each legion.

16. **naves longae**: "ships of war," in contrast with the shorter and broader transport vessels (*naves onerariae*).

18. **ita . . . si**: "only . . . if," as in **13**, 16. So again **19**, 7.

23. **ea parte belli**: "in that branch of warfare," *i.e.* by sea.

25. **iusto equitatu**: "the *proper* complement of cavalry," which was 300 to the legion.

28. **eodem versa**: "intended for the same object," explained by *in Punicum bellum*. *Versa* is neuter plural, referring to all the preceding accusatives. The "province of Gaul" here meant is Gallia Cisalpina, Rome having nothing to do with Transalpine Gaul for nearly a century after this date.

18. 2. **maiores natu**: "senior." *Natu* is an ablative (of respect), "by birth."

4. **publicone**: the -*ne* serves to introduce the single (indirect) question; contrast l. 17, below. *Publico consilio* means "with the authority of the Government."

6. **defenderent**: "should say in defence." Hence the accusative and infinitive construction, as after any verb of saying. **ut indicerent**:

final subjunctive depending upon *mittunt*, and parallel to the clause *ad percunctandos Carthaginienses*, above.

8. **senatus datus esset**: *senatus* is "audience," as in **12**, 26.

10. **unus**: a verb of saying is easily understood.

13. **verbis . . . re**: ablatives of respect. *Re*, or *re vera*, is the Latin for "in reality," "really."

17. **privato publicone**: attached to the second word in the clause, *-ne* serves to mark the second alternative in the double question. In translating, *utrum* must be supplied before *privato*.

18. **censeam**: potential subjunctive; half ironical, as we might say "in my humble opinion."

19. **quaestio**: the proper word for a legal "enquiry." **animadversio in civem**: "the (task of) punishing our fellow-citizen." For the force of *in*, cp. *ira in Carthaginienses*, **16**, 5.

20. **quid . . . fecerit**: an indirect question depending upon *quaestio* (= "duty of enquiring"), with which it must be joined.

23. **nobis vobiscum foedus est**: the reference is to the peace by which the First Punic War was ended, 241 B.C.

24. **consule**: he was pro-consul at the time. **ictum**: "ratified," literally "struck," because the swearing to the treaty was accompanied by the sacrifice (*icere*) of a victim. **caveretur . . . sociis**: *cavere alicui* is "to take precautions for *or* on behalf of." In the next clause the usual construction is varied to *cavere de aliquo*, without any difference in the sense.

26. **at enim**: this formula regularly serves to introduce an objection raised, or supposed to be raised, by the opposite party. **cum Hasdrubale**: the treaty of 228 B.C. (**2**, 24).

30. **ex auctoritate patrum**: "by the sanction of the Senate," which at this period was necessary to the validity of any decision of the people in their *comitia*. In actual practice, the making of peace lay at this date entirely with the Senate, the people having no voice in the matter. **aliud . . . foedus**: it was by this means that the amount of idemnity was raised and the time for its payment shortened; see Introd., p. xiii.

34. **nobis insciis**: "without our knowledge," ablative of attendant circumstance (ablative absolute).

36. **aliquando**: "at length." *Pariat* is jussive subjunctive.

37. **sinu**: a "fold" like a bag. *Hic* is the adverb, "herein."

38. **utrum**: neuter of the relative pronoun *uter*. **sub**: see note on **2**, 1. The same force belongs to the prefix in *subclamatum*.

39. **ferociter**: "haughtily," "proudly." **daret, utrum vellet**: they shouted, *Da, utrum vis*.

41. **acciperent**: subjunctive of reported definition. In direct speech, *accipimus . . . geremus*.

19. 2. **de foederum iure**: *i.e.* how far the treaties were binding.

3. **cum ante, tum maxime**: "both previously, and especially . . ." In this idiom *cum . . . tum . . .* are little more than a substitute for *et . . . et*. **Sagunto excisa**: elsewhere in Livy the form used is

Saguntum (neuter); here perhaps we should understand *urbe* in apposition.

4. **verborum disceptationis**: "verbal quibbling." **quid**: accusative of extent.

5. **priore foedere**: the treaty as drafted by Lutatius, before it was amended by the Senate.

6. **conparandum erat**: the verb *sum* accompanied by a gerund or verbal adjective, and the verbs *possum*, *debeo*, *decet*, *oportet*, are in the apodoses of conditional sentences commonly used in a past tense of the indicative, where other verbs would be in the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. *Conparandum erat* = "could be compared"; the gerundive when a negative is expressed or (as here) implied often corresponds to an English adjective ending in *-ble*, *e.g.* "comparable." **diserte**: "clearly." **cum . . . additum esset . . . fuerit . . . conprobatum sit**: these are causal clauses giving the reasons whereby the speaker justifies his implied statement that the cases of the two treaties are not parallel. The change of tense may be partly for the sake of variety, partly with a view to greater vividness in the mention of the treaty actually under discussion.

7. **ita . . . si**: "only on condition that"; cp. **17**, 18. **ratum**: "ratified," "confirmed," another and very common instance of the participle of a deponent verb (*reor*) having a passive force; cp. *inritus* (= *in* + *ratus*), "not ratified," "futile.' **in Hasdrubalis**: in English an adversative expression must be inserted before this clause, *e.g.* "but," "on the other hand."

10. The possibility of the treaty not having been communicated to the Carthaginian government is overlooked. **quamquam**: resumptive, "and yet," a common usage.

11. **etsi priore foedere staretur**: "even if the disputants stood upon the former treaty," *i.e.* based their arguments upon it. The authorised treaty of 241 B.C. is meant, as *prior* to that made by Hasdrubal. **cautum erat**: cp. **18**, 24.

13. **ne**: sc. *cautum esset iis*, "that there was to be no proviso as regards those" who should subsequently be admitted to alliance.

14. **aecum**: "reasonable," as in **3**, 8.

15. **censeret**: "could have deemed," potential subjunctive. **ob nulla . . . recipi**: "that on no account should any one (*i.e.* any new community) be admitted to alliance (with Rome or with Carthage) in return for services rendered."

16. **tantum ne**: here too a predicate must be supplied, e.g. *id tantum cautum est, ne* . . . "the one proviso was, that no ally, etc."

18. **desciscentes**: the participle does duty for a conditional clause, "if they should secede."

Ch. 19, l. 19-20. ARGUMENT.—*The Roman envoys returned home by way of Spain and Gaul. One Spanish tribe gave them a favourable hearing, but this was countervailed by the answer of the Volciani, who enquired what inducement there was to side with Rome, if Rome treated all her allies as she treated Saguntum. They did no better in Gaul, where only the allied*

State of Massilia proved friendly. Hannibal had already bought the allegiance of the Gallic tribes.

[See Index for Massilia.]

22. **Bargusios**: somewhere between the Ebro and the Pyrenees.

23. **taedebat**: sc. *eos*. It was the conduct of the Carthaginians in dealing with other states to which they objected; they themselves were still independent.

25. **Volcianos**: nothing is known of this people except that they were apparently neighbours of the Bargusii. **celebre**: here "noised abroad," and so "celebrated." But the usual sense of *celeber* is "much frequented," "populous"; the derivative sense being due to the fact that that which is much frequented is also renowned.

28. **quae verecundia est . . . postulare**: "what (sort of) modesty is it that you should demand?" *i.e.* "it is shameless of you to demand."

31. **quaeratis**: jussive subjunctive in semi-dependence on *censeo*. As in English we may say (*a*) "I bid you to seek," or (*b*) "I bid you seek," so in Latin we may have (*a*) *censeo ut quaeratis* or (*b*) *censeo quaeratis*. The latter construction is common after a verb of advising, ordering, or asking.

33. **documentum**: "lesson" or "warning," and therefore constructed with a dependent *ne*-clause like a verb of the same meaning.

20. 1. **his**: *i.e. Gallis*, readily understood from *Galliam* in the preceding sentence; cp. *oriundi* referring to *civitas*, in **7**, 4.

4. **petissent**: the subject is *legati Romani*.

7. **iuventus**: the word regularly denotes "warriors," "fighting men," for the Romans spoke of a man as being a *iuvenis* at any time between eighteen and forty-five, *i.e.* in the prime of life.

8. **censere**: "to propose," introducing the infinitives *avertere* and *obicere*. On these again depends the *ne*-clause. The construction of *censeo* with an infinitive is poetical.

9. **ipsos**: i.e. *Gallos*.

12. **esse**: here a verb of complete predication, "exist." The words *in se* refer, according to rule, to the speakers, viz. the Gauls.

15. **pelli . . . pendere . . . pati**: the reference is to the subjection of the Boian and Insubrian Gauls, and the confiscation of part of their lands for the foundation of the colonies of Placentia and Cremona. See Introduction, § v.

19. **cognita**: sc. *sunt*, "everthing that our allies (the Massiliots) had discovered by careful and loyal enquiry was now revealed" to the Roman envoys. What this amounted to is explained by the following oblique statement *praeoccupatos . . . concilientur*.

22. **subinde**: here in the sense of "from time to time." The more usual meaning is "thereupon." **est**: the mood (indicative) of this clause shows it to be no part of the *oratio obliqua*, but a parenthetic remark of Livy's.

25. **consules**: the consuls of 218 B.C. The consuls at this date entered upon their duties on March 15th.

Ch. 21-24. Argument.—*Wintering* (219-218 B.C.) *at Carthago Nova, Hannibal gave leave of absence to such of his men as wished it. In the spring he paid a ceremonial visit to the temple of Hercules at Cadiz, and after making the needful dispositions for the defence of Africa and Spain, began his advance. At Onussa he saw a vision which greatly encouraged him. A number of his troops deserted, or were dismissed, before the Pyrenees were crossed. Passing into Gaul, he readily obtained permission to move onward to the Rhone.*

[See Index for Gades, Ligures.]

21. 1. **in hiberna** : for the winter 219-218 B.C.

2. **auditis** : sc. *iis*, antecedent to *quae*.

3. **Carthagine** : ablative of "place where." **se . . . esse** : the accusative and infinitive depends upon the verbal notion in *auditis* (= *cum audivisset*). This accounts for the use of *se*, referring to Hannibal.

4. **partitis** : passive, although the verb is deponent.

8. **nobis** : dative of the agent, regular with gerundives.

13. **quae . . . cara** : the neuter here includes persons of either sex.

14. **vestrum** : the partitive genitive of *vos*. **commeatum** : "leave to go and come (*commeare*)," "furlough." Elsewhere, and in particular in the plural, the word usually means "supplies" (*e.g.* **25**, 41).

15. **edico adsitis** : for the semi-dependent jussive, see note on **19**, 31.

17. **ultro** : "without the asking."

18. **suos** : "their kindred," "their friends," a common substantival use of *sui*.

19. **desiderium** : not "desire," which is *cupido*, but the feeling of one who "misses" or "regrets" what is absent.

21. **de integro** : "afresh." **ad edictum** : "according to orders."

24. **Gadis** : accusative of the goal of motion. Gades is the modern Cadiz. By Hercules the Tyrian god Melcarth is meant.

25. **si . . . evenissent** : the apodosis is involved in *votis se obligat*, "bound himself *to fulfil further vows*, if," etc. What he said was *si . . . evenerint* (future-perfect), *nova vota exsolvam*.

26. **in** : we should say "between."

28. **Romanis** : dative, "for (the benefit of) the Romans." **ab** : "from the direction of," "on the side of."

30. **levium armis** : literally "lightly equipped in the matter of arms," the ablative being that of respect.

32. **miles** : collective, "troops." **pigneribus obligati** : the Spaniard serving in Africa left behind him in Spain his goods and family as *pignera*, "guarantees," of his own good conduct; and so conversely the African serving in Spain.

33. **stipendia facerent** : "serve." The more usual expression is *stipendia mereri* ; see note on **4**, 31.

34. **caetratos** : light-armed troops whose sole or chief defensive

arm was the *caetra*, or light round shield of wicker covered with hide.

37. **praesidio**: predicative dative, *Carthagini* being dative of the indirect object, "to act as garrison of Carthage."

39. **eosdem**: we say "(to serve) *at once* as garrison and as hostages."

22. 4. **provinciam**: predicative. **firmat**: sc. *provinciam* as object.

5. **praesidiis**: with this the following ablatives, *milibus*, etc., are in apposition.

8. **Libyphoenices**: as the next clause explains, these were the offspring of marriages between Carthaginians (*Phoenices*) and the natives (*Libyes*).

10. **Oceani**: the Atlantic. **ad**: an adverb ("about"), and therefore not affecting the case of *mille octingenti*.

11. **quod**: from the indefinite *adjective* (*qui*, *qua*, *quod*), agreeing with *genus*. If there were no substantive expressed the *pronominal* form (*quis*, *qua*, *quid*) would be used.

13. †**ad tuendam . . . oram**: some editors read *tuendae . . . orae*, dative of purpose.

14. **tum quoque**: "on the *present* occasion too." The First Punic War had been ended by the success of the Roman fleet at the *Aegates Insulae*, to the west of Sicily.

16. **aptae**: here used as a participle, "fitted out," "ready for sea." **remigio**: "rowers," "crews," abstract for concrete.

19. **Onussam**: otherwise unknown. It evidently lay upon the coast between Cartagena and the mouth of the Ebro.

20. **marituma ora**: ablative of the "road by which." **quiete**: "sleep" or "dream," a common meaning.

22. **sequeretur**: subjunctive of reported command. So *deflecteret*. The actual words were: *sequere, neque . . . a me deflexeris oculos*.

24. **cura**: "inquisitiveness," "curiosity." The case is ablative of cause.

27. **mira magnitudine**: ablative of description.

28. **ferri**: "rushing on," a common meaning of the passive of *fero*. *Post* is an adverb, like *ultra* in l. 31.

29. **nimbum**: "downpour." The serpent represents Hannibal, the *nimbus* the havoc which he would cause.

30. **audisse**: "he was told."

31. **pergeret . . . inquireret . . . sineret**: subjunctives of reported command. **in occulto esse**: "to remain secret."

23. 1. **Hiberum copias**: *traicere, tramittere, traducere*, admit two accusatives, one of the thing put across, the other of the obstacle crossed, the latter accusative being governed by the prepositional prefix.

2. **praemissis**: a substantive, to which *qui* refers, is easily supplied, *e.g.* "men." **qui . . . conciliarent**: subjunctive of purpose.

5. **Ilergetes**: a tribe living in the region about the modern Lerida. North of them lay the Ausetani (modern Vich, north of Barcelona) and Lacetania, the "country of the Lacetani," at the foot of the Pyrenees.

9. **praesidium obtinendae regionis**: "a garrison *to* secure the district." This usage, where the genitive of the gerundive appears to convey the notion of purpose, is in reality a genitive of quality; cp. *leges firmandae libertatis*, "legislation for the security of liberty."

16. **anceps**: "dangerous," because the result of any attempt at coercion was "doubtful."

17. **domos**: the accusative plural of *domus* (meaning "home") is used, like the singular, to express the goal of motion without a preposition. **et ipsos**: as well as the Carpetani.

24. 3. **Iliberri**: here indeclinable. But in l. 10, we have *Iliberrim*, from a nominative *Iliberris*, feminine. It is the modern Elne, at the north foot of the eastern Pyrenees.

6. **Ruscinonem**: the modern La Tour de Roussillon, near Perpignan, on the coast immediately north of Elne. **aliquot populi**: appositive to *Galli*, "that is to say, a considerable number of tribes."

9. **conloqui**: the construction from this point down to *venisset* is *oratio obliqua* dependent on the verbal force of *oratores*, "envoys *to explain that*." His message was: *conloqui ego vobiscum volo; vel vos . . . accedite, vel ego . . . procedam, ut . . . sit; nam et accipiam vos in castra mea laetus, nec cunctanter ego ipse ad vos veniam.*

12. **laetum**: in Latin an adjective often stands predicatively to express the state of the subject at the time of the action, where in English an adverb is used to modify the action itself; thus *accipiam laetus* = "I will gladly receive."

13. **hospitem**: he said: *hospes ego Galliae non hostis adveni, nec stringam . . . si per vos licebit . . . venero.*

14. **stricturum**: *stringere gladium* is "to draw the sword" from its sheath.

15. **haec**: sc. *dixit* or *egit*.

16. **ad**: here used in the sense of "towards" or "near to."

17. **cum bona pace**: "without molestation."

Ch. 25-26. ARGUMENT.—*At this juncture the Boian Gauls of Northern Italy, taking offence at the planting of colonies at Placentia and Cremona, revolted, drove out the Commissioners, and laid temporary siege to Mutina. They also ambuscaded the praetor Manlius. On arriving at Massilia the consul Cornelius Scipio heard, to his surprise, that Hannibal was already on the banks of the Rhone, preparing to cross.*

[See Index for Cremona, Mutina, Padus, Placentia, Rhodanus.]

Ch. 25. 3. **perinde ac si**: "exactly as if." *Alpis* is accusative, and the subject to *transisset* is of course Hannibal.

5. **nuper**: modifying *deductas*. **circa**: Placentia on the southern bank, Cremona on the northern.

6. **colonias nuper . . . deductas**: after the conquest of any part of Italy, the Romans secured it by planting colonies (*deducere coloniam*) of Roman citizens in several of the strongest positions, which served as garrisons and forts. The colonists were mostly of the poorer class, who were tempted to go by the gift of land forfeited by the conquered people. Three officers (*tresviri*) were sent to conduct the settlers, to distribute the lands, and to establish a local government. The towns of Cremona and Placentia, besides commanding the passage of the Po, served to separate the Boii to the south from the Insubres to the north and northwest.

7. **aegre patiebantur**: literally, "they with difficulty tolerated," *i.e.* "they were annoyed at."

13. **M'**: *i.e.* Manius. But M. = Marcus.

15. **legati**: understand *utrum*, answered by *an* in the next clause.

18. **ad**: so we might speak of an officer being "a bad hand *at* a siege."

19. **intactis**: *i.e.* no attempt had been made to assault the walls.

22. **ius . . . gentium**: see note on **10**, 20.

23. **fide**: "promise" of safety, "safe conduct." **nisi . . . dimissuros**: in direct speech, *hos non dimittemus, nisi obsides nobis reddentur*. The hostages were those which had been in the Romans' hands since the last war.

26. **praetor**: see note on **62**, 27. **effusum**: "straggling" in its hurry to get there, in contrast with *quadrato agmine* (**5**, 47). He probably started from Ariminum (the modern Rimini) on the Adriatic.

27. **ad**: "towards"; "to" would imply that he arrived there.

28. **plerisque incultis**: neuter, "for most of the country was uninhabited." **inexplorato**: *explorato* and some other perfect participles are used in the ablative absolute (neuter singular) without a substantive; *e.g. auspicato*, "after taking the auspices." To these the negative *in*- is prefixed and an adverb formed. **profectus**: *i.e.* from Mutina, after relieving the town.

31. **spes**: "confidence."

32. **ad**: adverb, as in **22**, 10. The case of *sescentos* is due to its being the subject of the infinitive *cecidisse*.

33. **de integro**: "afresh." **dum . . . ducebatur**: for the tense, see note on **13**, 11.

38. **ut**: "when." The perfect indicative after *ut* or *ubi* used as a temporal conjunction is generally best rendered by the English past perfect.

39. **Tannetum**: on one of the tributaries of the Padus, a few miles from Parma.

40. **vicum**: *in vicum* would be more usual. For the spelling *propincum*, cp. *aecum*, **3**, 8. **contendere**: perfect indicative. **munimento ad tempus**: "temporary defences." Livy is fond of using these prepositional phrases as adjectives; cp. *pugna ad Trebiam*, **15**, 18 and note.

41. **commeatibus fluminis**: "supplies from the river," *i.e.* brought

up along the Padus. **Brixianorum**: inhabiting Brixia, now Brescia, thirty miles north of Cremona, and midway between Verona and Bergamo. These Gauls belonged to the tribe of the Cenomani.

26. 1. **qui tumultus**: "*the report of* this rising." For the use of *tumultus*, see note on **16**, 12.

3. **acceperunt**: "heard," a very common meaning.

4. **consule**: viz. Scipio.

5. **conscriptis**: referring both to *legione* and to *milibus*. **qui**: viz. Atilius.

8. **in locum**: join with *scripta* (cp. **17**, 6).

9. **sexaginta longis navibus**; we should say "*with* sixty men-of-war," but the Latin idiom regards the vessels rather as instruments, and therefore uses the ablative without *cum*.

11. **Salluvium montis**: *montis* is accusative (as in l. 14), *Salluvium* genitive; see note on **17**, 4. This tribe (called also *Salyi* and *Saluves*) inhabited what is now the Department of *Bouches du Rhône* and the lower slopes of the Riviera mountains east of Marseilles. **proximum**: *i.e.* nearest to Italy.

12. **pluribus**: sc. *ostiis*, ablative of the "road by which."

15. **quonam . . . occurreret**: indirect question. The enclitic *nam* serves to make the interrogative more emphatic. The direct question was deliberative, *Quonam . . . occurram?* See note on **11**, 22.

19. **ex tuto**: cp. *in occulto*, **22**, 31; *ex propinquo*, **24**, 11. **ceteris**: sc. *Gallorum gentibus*.

21. **validae**: viz. by reason of their numbers.

22. **citeriore**: "nearer" to Hannibal, *i.e.* the western bank. *Ulterior ripa* (l. 24) is therefore the eastern bank.

23. **suis**: neuter.

24. **obtinebant**: "were holding"; see note on *obtinuit*, **2**, 9.

25. **eorum ipsorum**: of the Volcae. For they had not *all* crossed the Rhone. The genitive (partitive) depends on *eos*, the suppressed antecedent of *quos*.

28. **quam primum**: "as soon as possible." So *quam maxime* "as much as possible," *quam celerrime*, "as speedily as possible," etc.

29. **turba**: the "multitude" of Hannibal's army, to feed which was a heavy tax upon their resources.

30. **coacta**: *cogere* is the usual word for "to collect." For *vis* meaning "number," cp. **5**, 37. **lintrium**: "small boats," as contrasted with larger *naves*. They were "rough and ready" (for that is the meaning of *temere paratarum*), being only intended for "local use" (*ad vicinalem usum*).

31. **incohantes**: "beginning," *i.e.* "roughly shaping."

33. **materiae**: in its usual sense of "timber." **alveos**: the word suggests that the boats made by the soldiers were mere "tubs."

34. **dummodo**: "provided only that." *Dummodo*, *tantummodo*, *dum*, and sometimes *modo* alone, are used in this sense, and always with the subjunctive.

35. **quibus . . . transveherent**: subjunctive of purpose.

Ch. 27-29. Argument.—*Hannibal despatched Hanno with a force to cross the Rhone at a point higher up and so make a diversion in the rear of the Gauls who were prepared to dispute the passage. By this means the Gallic force was completely dispersed. The elephants were very troublesome to get across, but it was at last done by means of rafts. As in the meantime there occurred between some of Hannibal's Numidian horse and a Roman force moving up from Massilia a conflict in which the Romans had the advantage, without further delay Hannibal pushed on towards the Alps.*

27. 2. **ex adverso**: "on the opposite side."

3. **Hannonem**: not the Hanno mentioned in **23**, 7.

4. **vigilia prima**: the night begun at sunset and ended at sunrise: its length, therefore, varied with the season of the year. For military purposes it was divided into four "watches" of equal length. The first watch would end about 9 p.m., for it was now well on in March.

5. **adverso flumine**: ablative absolute, "the stream being against him," *i.e.* "up stream"; just as *secundo flumine* means "down stream." **iter**: cognate accusative. A day's march is of course a very variable quantity. It could hardly be less than ten miles, and on this occasion it was twenty-five (Roman) miles (l. 8).

7. **cum opus facto sit**: "when there was need for action," "when the case required it." *Facto* is the usual ablative with *opus*, used in the sense of "need."

8. **ad id dati**: "appointed for the purpose."

9. **supra**: adverb, "higher up" the stream. *Insulae* is dative of the indirect object with *circumfusum*.

10. **dividebatur**: the subjunctive of reported definition might have been expected, the clause being part of the information given by the Gallic guides; but the indicative is not uncommon in Livy, especially in the case of matters of fact. **alveo**: here the "bed," "channel," of the river.

13. **sine ulla mole**: "without more ado." **utris**: accusative. These were skins used for holding wine, water, etc. Presumably each soldier carried one by way of a "water bottle." On the present occasion they would be filled with air. For *caetra*, see note on **21**, 34. *Caetris* is dative with *incubantes*.

14. **alius**: Livy frequently uses *alius* in the sense of "the rest" (*reliquus*, *cetera*, *ceterum*).

15. **iunctis**: *ratem iungere* is "to make a raft," *i.e.* to join together the material of which it is formed.

18. **fumo**: by lighting a fire, the smoke of which could be seen in Hannibal's camp, for the fire was on high ground (*edito loco*). With *transisse* and *abesse* supply *se* as subject.

20. **tempori**: "the right moment," "the opportunity."

21. **propter equos**: "because *of the size* of their horses," which were too big to cross in *lintres*. But some of them swam across (l. 25); hence *fere*, "as a rule."

22. **excipiendum**: *excipere* is "to intercept," and so "to break," the force of the stream, which was (and is) very great. Hannibal's object was to avoid having his forces scattered down stream by the current and cut off in detail by the Gauls on landing.

23. **parte superiore**: "on the up-stream side" of the *lintres*.

24. **pars . . . nantes . . . trahebantur**: the syntax is made subordinate to the sense, for *pars*, though singular, is here plural in meaning.

25. **instratos**: *i.e.* "saddled."

27. **usui**: predicative dative.

28. 3. **et**: the sentence is incomplete, there being nothing to answer to this *et*. We ought to have *et ex adverso . . . et a tergo*; but after the long parenthesis of ll. 5-7, Livy ends the sentence at *hortabantur*.

5. **perrumpere**: the Ciceronian syntax after *nitor* and other verbs of similar meaning is the subjunctive with *ut*. *Nitebantur* refers to the efforts of the rowers.

7. **paventes**: sc. *Gallos*, object of *adortus* (*est*).

9. **anceps**: "double," or "from two directions."

11. **utroque**: adverb, "in each direction."

12. **pellebantur**: the imperfect here expresses incomplete, rather than repeated, action.

14. **per otium**: "at leisure." In Livy and Vergil *per* with an accusative is a common substitute for an adverb.

17. **actae rei**: "of the doing of the thing," "of how the thing was done," the predicative participle standing for a verbal substantive; cp. note on *Sardinia amissa*, **1**, 20.

18. **tradunt**: "relate." Livy is referring to the Roman historian Coelius in particular.

19. **refugientem**: sc. *rectorem*.

20. **nantem**: referring to *ferocissimum ex iis* (l. 18), not to *gregem*. **ut quemque**: "for the mere force of the stream carried them over, as one by one (*quemque*), despite their dread of deep water, they lost their footing" (literally "as the shallow-water failed each fearing the depth").

22. **constat**: viz. on the authority of Polybius.

23. **foret**: the mood is not due to *ut*, but is potential, "it would have been" (if the event were not already in the past). **ad fidem pronius**: "easier to believe."

24. **ducentos . . . pedes**: accusative of extent of space.

26. **secunda aqua**: equivalent to *secundo flumine* (**27**, 5, note), "down stream."

27. **superiore**: "on the up-stream side," "above" the raft. **humo**: contrasted with *solum*, l. 28, as "soil" with "solid ground."

31. **stabilem ratem**: the larger of the two rafts, which was made fast to the bank.

32. **feminis**: to this day female elephants, as being more tractable, are employed in the catching, taming, and training, of wild elephants,

34. **actuariis . . . navibus**: light vessels capable of moving at a high speed, whether by oars or sails, or both.

36. **donec . . . agerentur**: the normal way for expressing "all the time that" is by *dum* or *donec* with the indicative; the subjunctive here, as in lines 38 (*raperentur*) and 40 (*fecisset*), is apparently iterative (see note on **4**, 13).

37. **ceteris**: neuter, "everything else."

38. **urgentes inter se**: "pushing one another"; cp. note on **1**, 6.

29. 3. **speculatum**: supine in *-um* (in reality an accusative of the goal of motion) used in dependence upon a verb of motion (here *miserat*) to express purpose.

4. **huic alae**: the dative depends upon *occurrunt*. The dispatch of the three hundred Roman horse was mentioned in **26**, 17.

9. **ad**: adverb, as in **22**, 10.

10. **pars Gallorum**: "some who were Gauls," "some of them Gauls." The genitive is that of definition. **amplius ducenti**: two hundred *and more*." *Amplius*, *plus*, and *minus* may be thus used with numerals without *quam* and without the numeral being put in the ablative of the standard of comparison.

12. **summae rerum**: here "the war as a whole."

13. **ancipitisque**: the negative *haud* belongs to *incruentam* only; cp. note on **1**, 8.

14. **sui**: here referring to that which belongs, not to the subject, but to a person denoted by a substantive in an oblique case. This usage is admissible provided that it does not cause any ambiguity. **nec . . . nisi ut**: "Scipio's only possible course was to" (literally "no course could hold good for Scipio, unless that . . . "). The phrase *sententia stetit alicui*, "it is a man's fixed opinion *or* resolve" occurs again in **30**, 1.

21. **integro . . . viribus**: the ablatives absolute modify *adgrediendam* (*esse*). *Integer* means "untouched"; hence *integro bello*, "before the fighting began." *Libare* is "to take sips of," and so "to reduce little by little." Hannibal's only course was to avoid all fighting for the present, and to hurry on to Italy with every available man.

22. **multitudo**: the "rank and file" of Hannibal's men.

24. **rem**: referring appositively to the whole phrase *iter immensum Alpisque*, "the endless march across the Alps." **utique inexpertis**: dative, "at anyrate to men who had never essayed it." Join *fama* ("by all accounts") with *horrendam*.

25. **metuebat**: notice the change of word. They *feared* (*timebant*) the Romans, from experience; they *were apprehensive of* (*metuebant*) the Alps, of which they had no experience.

Ch. 30-32, l. 13. Argument.—*At this point Hannibal found it needful to encourage his men by a speech. Thence moving northward, he came to the Isle of the Allobroges, where he settled a dispute between rival claimants to the throne; and striking eastward, crossed the Druentia near its headwaters. Scipio in the meantime, having failed to stop the enemy's*

advance on the Rhone, sent forward his forces to Spain under the command of his brother Gnaeus and returned in person to Genoa.

[See Index for Allobroges, Druentia, Insula, Scipio.]

30. 3. **mirari se**: the *oratio obliqua* continues throughout the chapter, the sequence being in the main primary for the sake of vividness. In ll. 20, 35, however, the sequence is historic (*fingerent*, *cederent*). The mixture of sequences is here justified by the rule that a historic present (*versat*, l. 3) may take either sequence.

4. **quinam**: the adjectival interrogative *qui*, emphasized by the enclitic *nam*.

5. **vincentis**: with *eos*. The present *facere* is used because their victorious career is still going on.

6. **omnes**: this is of course an exaggeration.

7. **duo diversa maria**: the Mediterranean on the east, the Atlantic on the west, of Spain. *Carthaginiensium* is possessive genitive used predicatively.

11. **liberandum orbem terrarum**: to speak of the world being then under Roman rule is of course an anachronism; cp. l. 32.

12. **exortus**: the use of the plural here (= "the east") is poetical. **intenderent**: in direct speech *intendebatis*, the force of *eum* being "at the time when."

14. **emensam**: passive; cp. *expertas*, **1**, 8.

15. **tot milibus . . . prohibentibus**: the ablative absolute has the force of a concessive clause ("although so many . . .").

20. **fingerent**: "imagine," "suppose." The subjunctive is that of reported command. In direct speech: *Fingite Alpis altiores esse Pyrenaei iugis.*

23. **animantes**: "living things," whether human or not. We should say "mountain *life*."

24. **legatos**: Magălus and the other Gallic envoys mentioned in **29**, 19.

26. **indigenas**: predicative. So *advenas*. Hannibal is alluding to the numerous migrations of Gallic tribes into Northern Italy, said to have begun about 600 B.C.

32. **Romam**: object of *petentibus*. The subject of the sentence is *quicquam* (= *numquid*).

33. **quod . . . moretur**: consecutive, "(so difficult) as to delay."

34. **ea**: *i.e.* Rome, which was taken by the Gauls in 390 B.C.

35. **cederent**: in direct speech *cedite*. So below *sperent* represents *sperate*. *Animo atque virtute* are ablatives of respect.

37. **campum**: the Campus Martius, lying north-west of Rome, between the city's walls and the river Tiber, which here makes a wide westward bend.

31. 1. **corpora curare**: viz. with food and sleep.

2. **adversa ripa**: "along the bank up-stream"; cp. *adverso flumine.*

4. **esset**: after *non quod* or *non quia* the mood is by rule subjunctive. If the clauses were grammatically parallel we ought to have *sed quia.*

. . . *credebat*, in the next, where the indicative would show that the latter reason was the true one. For the use of the present participle, see note on **14**, 5. **quantum**: the correlative *tanto* is omitted before *minus* in the next clause. *Quantum*, *tantum*, etc., are accusatives of extent; *quanto*, *tanto*, ablatives of measure.

5. **priusquam . . . foret**: the mood shows that the clause forms part of what Hannibal is represented as saying to himself, viz. *non conseram* (future), *priusquam venero* or *ventum erit*. **manus conserere**: "to engage"; cp. *conserto proelio*, **4**, 26.

7. **quartis castris**: as a camp was pitched at the end of each day's march, *quartis castris* means "after the fourth encampment," "after four days' march." If Hannibal crossed at Arausio (Orange), the distance was about 60 miles.

9. **mediis campis**; "to the level country between them."

10. **Insulae**: dative, assimilated to the case of *campis*, a construction common in expressions of naming, but not belonging to Ciceronian prose. **prope**: adverb, "near at hand." **iam inde**: "even at (*literally* from) that early time."

12. **regni**: objective genitive, "a quarrel about the throne."

13. **minore**: "younger." So *maiori* = "elder."

15. **pellebatur**: the imperfect implies that they were *trying* to drive him out.

18. **ea . . . sententia**: "such a course" as that explained in *imperium . . . restituit*.

22. **recta regione**: "in a straight line." He did not march directly east, but bore somewhat to his left (*i.e.* north-east) up the valley of the Isara, and thence southward up the Drac to the valley of the upper Druentia. With *laevam* supply *manum*.

25. **is et ipse**: "that too," like the Rhone and the Isère.

26. **difficillimus**: the gender is determined by *is* (names of rivers are masculine), not by *fluminum*.

27. **transitu**: supine in *-u*, a verbal substantive used as an ablative of respect.

28. **navium**: objective genitive dependent upon a present participle used as an adjective.

31. **pediti quoque**: *i.e.* for men fording the stream, as well as for boats. **saxa glareosa**: Livy apparently means stones washed down with the gravel.

32. 2. **quadrato agmine**: see note on **5**, 47.

5. **adsecuturum**: "catch up."

7. **nuda auxiliis Romanis**: "left bare of Roman aid"; the plural is used with reference to the forces quartered in various districts.

8. **sortitus erat**: see note on **17**, 1.

12. **Genuam**: the modern Genoa, a convenient point from which to march northward to the Padus. **eo**: sc. *exercitu*, the substantive being attracted, as often, into the relative clause.

13. **circa**: "on either side."

Ch. 32 l. 14-34. Argument.—*The Alpine tribes resisted Hannibal's further progress, until he succeeded in turning their position. He advanced thenceforward with difficulty and danger, even those tribes which affected to be friendly being in reality treacherous. He barely escaped disaster in one narrow mountain defile.*

32. 16. **in maius vero ferri**: "to be reported larger than the truth," *i.e.* "to be exaggerated." *Fama* is ablative.

18. **nives**: the plural suggests the *number* of snow-covered peaks.

19. **pecora**: sheep and goats. **iumenta**: cattle and horses.

22. **erigentibus . . . agmen**: "(to them) as they directed their march upwards." The participle *imminentes* agrees with *tumulos*.

25. **dedissent**: "would have caused *or* made," a common meaning of *dare* in poetical Latin.

26. **consistere signa iussit**: "ordered a halt," for as the standards moved or not, so did the troops to which the standards belonged. **Gallis**: the envoys mentioned in **29**, 19.

27. **ea**: sc. *via*, "in that direction." The path was barred by the enemy.

28. **quam extentissimā potest**: "the broadest possible" valley; cp. **27**, 6, note.

30. **abhorrentis**: "differing" from the hostile tribe. The ablatives *lingua* and *moribus* are those of respect.

32. **quemque dilabi**: except the men left on out-post duty; cp. l. 37.

33. **subiit**: "he marched to the foot of . . ." **ut**: "as if" (= *velut*), implying deception. *Ex aperto vim facere* is "openly to force one's way."

36. **communissent**: the subject is Hannibal's troops.

38. **in speciem**: "for appearances," "to make a show," *i.e.* to give the impression that the whole force was bivouacking on the spot.

40. **acerrimo quoque**: "all the most daring"; cp. **4**, 1. The words are appositive to *expeditis*.

33. 1. **prima luce**: "at daybreak."

4. **alios . . . alios**: the substantive *hostis* (accusative) belongs to both. *Occupare* here has its proper meaning of "to take a thing *before*" some one else.

5. **via**: "along the road" beneath.

7. **ut videre**: the construction of *videre* is double, (*a*) a direct object *trepidationem*, and (*b*) the accusative and infinitive clause *misceri agmen*.

9. **adiecissent**: subjunctive of reported definition, representing according to rule the direct future-perfect *adiecerimus*. **diversis rupibus**: *i.e.* from right and left of the road.

10. **iuxta in vias . . . adsueti**: "accustomed equally to roads or no roads." *Iuxta* is adverbial (= "equally"); *devia* substantival, literally "places off the road." The usual construction of *adsuetus* is with the dative; that with *in* or *ad* and the accusative is rare.

11. **ab iniquitate**: the preposition is not needed; it is added simply to balance the preceding *ab hostibus*.

12. **sibi quoque**: "each for himself." The dative is that of advantage.

13. **certaminis**: the genitive (partitive) depends on *plus*.

14. **infestum**: the word is usually active in meaning, "menacing," "hostile," "dangerous," as in **11**, 3. Here it has a passive sense, "endangered"; and *facere infestum* = "to endanger."

15. **repercussae**: "echoing." Strictly speaking it is not the *vallis*, but the *clamor*, which is *repercussus*, "flung back," *i.e.* re-echoed.

16. **trepidabant**: "became restive." The word does not necessarily imply fear, which is here expressed in *territi*.

19. **inmensum altitudinis**: "measureless depths." *Inmensum* is substantival and the genitive is that of definition. **ruinae modo**: "like falling masonry." In this usage *modō*, "in the manner of," is the ablative of *modus*, not the adverb *modŏ*, "lately" or "only" (l. 29). The beasts of burden with their packs piled high are suggestive of towers.

23. **suos**: the light-armed which he had taken with him (**32**, 40).

25. **nequiquam incolumem**: for his army would be helpless if all its transport and supplies were lost.

29. **per otium**: "at leisure"; cp. **28**, 14.

30. **silentio**: one of the very few ablatives of manner which may stand without an epithet or preposition (*cum*); see note on **5**, 16.

33. **primo**: "at first." But later on they recovered their confidence (**34**, 20). **magno opere**: "much," "greatly," the phrase doing duty as the adverb of *magnus*.

34. 1. **frequentem**: *frequens*, like *celeber*, means "populous," "crowded."

2. **ut**: for the restrictive use of *ut*, cp. **7**, 16.

3. **suis artibus**: compare what was said of Hannibal in **4**, 27-28.

4. **magno natu**: "old men"; less common than *maiores natu*. **Poenum**: viz. Hannibal.

5. **doctos**: attributive to *se*, the suppressed subject of the infinitive.

8. **ad fidem promissorum**; "as a guarantee of what was promised." *Acciperet* is subjunctive of reported command. They said *accipe*.

10. **repudiati**: equivalent to a protasis, "if they should be rebuffed."

11. **commeatu**: the ablative is governed by *usus*.

13. **agmine**: construe *nequaquam* (*ita*) *conposito agmine ut inter pacatos* (*fieri solet*).

16. **parte altera**: "on one side (only)."

18. **a fronte ab tergo**: the asyndeton here and with *comminus eminus* is intended to express rapidity and the unexpected character of the attack; so too *petunt . . . devolvunt*. The absolute use of *petere*, *i.e.* its use without an object, is rare.

21. **extrema agminis**: "the rearmost portion of the column." The genitive is partitive, as in Vergil's *opaca locorum*, "(those of the) places that were dark"; *strata viarum*, "(those parts of the) streets that were paved."

26. **per obliqua**: "crosswise." They forced their way across the road and cut Hannibal off from his cavalry and baggage, which had already passed into the defile. The infantry were with him in the rear.

28. **nox . . . acta est**: *agere tempus* (*diem*, *noctem*, *etc.*) is "to pass the time (the day, the night, etc.). **Hannibali**: dative of the agent, not uncommon with the perfect participle.

Ch. 35-37. ARGUMENT.—*In nine days the summit was gained. Then the still more arduous descent commenced. At one point the road had entirely disappeared, and four days were wasted in surmounting this difficulty. In three days more the passage of the Alps was finally accomplished.*

35. 5. **modo . . . modo . . .**: "at one time . . . at another time . . . ," "now . . . anon . . ." **novissimum agmen**: "the extreme rear," because, when a series of persons passes by, the "most recently" seen is also "the last." In any other sense than "the last" of a series, *recentissimus* is used as the superlative of *novus*.

6. **daret**: iterative subjunctive (**4**, 13, note). *Utcumque* ("however") does not itself influence the mood. Compare *quacumque incederent*, l. 9, and *ubi . . . esset*, l. 12.

7. **sicut . . . ita**: almost equivalent to "although . . . nevertheless."

9. **insuetis**: viz. to the sight. *Adeundi* goes with *metus*.

10. **propius**: absolute, "any nearer."

12. **errores**: literally "missings of the way." **ducentium**: the *duces* of **34**, 8.

13. **temere initae valles**: "haphazard entries into valleys." Cp. *Sardinia amissa*, **1**, 20, and the note there.

14. **biduum**: accusative of extent of time. *Stativa* (sc. *castra*) is a "permanent" camp, as contrasted with the customary encampment for a single night only.

18. **sidere Vergiliarum**: the constellation of the Pleiades, of which the (morning) setting (*i.e.* their setting at sunrise) occurred about October 29. Probably the real date of Hannibal's arrival at the *iugum* was two or three weeks earlier in the year.

22. **promunturio**: (also spelt *promuntorio*) "a jutting rock *or* peak"; cp. *promineo*.

23. **ostentat**: Hannibal can only have pointed out the direction in which Italy lay, for it is not possible to see that country itself from any of the Passes by which he might have crossed. Livy's words, however, naturally give the reader the impression that the Lombard plain was actually visible, and were doubtless intended to do so for the sake of rhetorical effect.

24. **Circumpadanos**: "lying around the Padus (*Po*)."

25. **moenia**: a verb of saying is easily understood from *ostentat* to introduce the following *oratio obliqua*.

26. **uno aut summum altero**: "one, or at most two." *Summum* is accusative of extent.

29. **nihil ne . . . quidem**: the two negatives do not here cancel each other, as usually happens in Latin. **per occasionem**: cp. **8**, 17.

31. **ab Italia**: "on the Italian side." *Multo* modifies *difficilius*, and *ceterum* is here the adjective.

34. **possent**: *sc.* the troops. **qui . . . titubassent**: generic subjunctive, a variety of the consecutive use (*qui* = "such as").

35. **†adflicti**: "when they had fallen." They could not stop where they fell, but went sliding down the slope. There is a conjectural reading *adfixi*, "fixed," *i.e.* "firm," which is easier.

36. 2. **rectis saxis**: ablative of description with *rupem*. *Rupis* may here be rendered "pass." **temptabundus**: "feeling his way." Another of these participial adjectives (most of which Livy is the first or only writer to use), *contionabundus*, occurs in **53**, 18. Elsewhere Livy uses *cunctabundus*, *mirabundus*, and other such forms.

4. **natura**: with *praeceps*, "naturally steep." With the ablative, cp. *silentio*, **33**, 30.

5. **in . . . altitudinem**: according to Polybius the road had become so narrow as to be impassable for a length of a furlong and a half, doubtless through the action of a glacier. Livy, however, seems to have misunderstood this, and to imply by *in altitudinem* that there was a sheer drop of 1000 feet. The words *in pedum mille* are a conjectural emendation of the MSS. readings *impeditus ille* and *impeditus dum ille*.

8. **digressus**: the omission of *est* here and after *visa* in the next line is somewhat harsh.

10. **circumduceret**: the rendering "it seemed certain that he must lead his troops round" represents the general meaning well enough, but it is doubtful if the subjunctive can thus imply necessity, and it is safer to take *dubia res* as "a matter admitting hesitation" and to construe "the matter seemed such as not to admit of hesitation on his part to lead his army round." **quamvis**: to be taken with *longo*, "however long."

13. **molli nec praealtae**: *sc. nivi*, dative with *insistebant*.

15. **dilapsa est**: "it had melted." The ablative *incessu* is causal.

17. **in prono**: "on the slope" of the mountain side.

18. **citius**: *i.e.* all the more quickly than if the surface had been level instead of sloping.

19. **adiuvissent**: the subjunctive is (1) iterative, and (2) required by the subordination of the clause to the consecutive clause *ut . . . corruerent*.

20. **ad quas**: "by the help of which," literally "against which."

21. **levi**: from *lēvis*. **tantum**: "only," "nothing but."

23. **ingredientia**: "as they advanced." *Nivem* is best taken as the object of *secabant*.

24. **conitendo**: *i.e.* in their struggles to rise.

37. 3. **purgato**: "cleared" of the snow.

4. **ad rupem muniendam**: *viam munire* is "to make a road." Hence *rupem munire*, "to make a cliff passable," "to construct a road along a cliff."

5. **arboribus**: the mention of large trees here is hardly in accord with Livy's descriptions of the ground in **36**, 20, and in l. 13 below.

8. **aceto**: not vinegar, but the "sour wine" which the soldiers carried with them. If limestone is heated, and suddenly drenched with any cold liquid, it will split; and thus far the story may have a little truth in it. Pliny speaks of mines being worked in a similar way, and it is said that many of the great monoliths of Stonehenge were thus broken up by the farmers about.

10. **anfractibus**: "zigzag paths," to lessen the steepness of the descent.

12. **iumentis . . . absumptis**: the ablative absolute may here be rendered by a clause beginning "whereby."

14. **inferiora**: substantival, "the lower *slopes*" of the Alps. So l. 17, *planum*, "level *ground*."

Ch. 38-39. Argument.—*Accounts differ as to the number of Hannibal's forces on his arrival in Italy: the highest figure is 120,000, the lowest 26,000. Hannibal himself admitted the loss of 36,000 men during the five months' march from Carthago Nova to Italy. There is a further question as to the route by which he crossed the Alps, which is the more remarkable, because all authorities agree that the Pass by which he came brought him direct to the Taurini. That he crossed by the Pennine Pass is absurd. The Taurini and the Insubres being at war, Hannibal attacked and took the town of the former, and so passed on down the Padus Valley, the Gauls as a whole temporising. Thus at last the two greatest generals of the age met for the first time on the River Ticinus.*

[See Index for Alimentus, Insubres, Taurini, Ticinus; and read Introduction, § vii.]

38. 1. **maxime**: "pretty much."

2. **quinto mense a**: so we might say "in the fifth month *out* from Carthage." As it is measure, not motion, that is concerned, the preposition is required. **quidam**: especially Polybius. *Auctor esse* is "to be responsible for" an assertion, and so "to assert." This parenthesis (*ut . . . sunt*) applies only to what precedes.

6. **qui minimum**: Polybius mentions 12,000 African infantry, 8,000 Spanish infantry, and 6,000 cavalry.

8. **moveret**: "would sway," "would influence."

9. **cum his**: "in addition to these."

10. **adducta**: i.e. (*Cincius scribit*) *adducta esse in Italiam.*

13. **transierit**: the mood is that of a dependent clause in *oratio obliqua*, but strict sequence would require a historic tense (*transisset*).

14. **amississe**: *eum* (*Hannibalem*) is to be understood as subject.

15. **degresso**: sc. *Hannibali*, dative with *proxuma*.

16. **ambigi**: impersonal, "that the question should be raised."

quanam: ablative of the road by which. So *Poenino* (sc. *iugo*) in the next line.

17. **vulgo credere**: "that people commonly believe." The subject of the infinitive, being indefinite, is not expressed. **nomen inditum**: the Pennine Alps really derive their name from the Celtic root (*Pen*, *Ben*, "head") which is seen in Apennine, Penrhyn, Ben Nevis, etc.; and the connexion with *Poenus*, "Carthaginian," is purely fanciful. The Pennine Pass is the Great St. Bernard.

18. **Cremonis iugum**: supposed to be the Little St. Bernard.

21. **deduxissent**: potential subjunctive, "would have brought him down," if he had gone that way. So again *fuissent*, l. 23. **veri simile**: "like the truth," *i.e.* "probable," "likely." **tum**: the road over the Great St. Bernard was made under Augustus.

22. **utique**: "in any case"; cp. **29**, 24.

25. **Seduni Veragri**: two tribes; Livy seems to speak of them as one. **norint**: (= *noverint*) potential subjunctive; the perfect so used gives a mild or modest tone to the assertion ("would seem to know of the name being given").

26. **ab eo**: Livy believed the range to take its name from the god or hero *Poeninus*, whom the mountaineers worshipped upon the mountain top. **sacratum**: *i.e.* honoured with a temple or shrine.

39. 1. **peropportune**: "very opportunely" for making a beginning, from Hannibal's point of view. *Taurinis* is dative of the agent.

3. **armare**: "get under arms," "bring into action." **parti alteri**: viz. the Insubres. **in reficiendo**: "in the course of its recovery"; cp. *refecto*, l. 10.

5. **ex**: "following upon." To translate "the change from toil to ease" brings out the force of the preposition.

6. **tabe**: their clothes were soaked with the slush of the trodden snow.

8. **tirone**: usually a substantive ("a recruit"), but here used as an adjective in the sense of "newly enlisted."

11. **moverat**: sc. *castra*. So again, l. 16.

12. **urbem**: on the site of the subsequent Roman colony of Augusta Taurinorum, now Turin.

15. **circumspectantis**: accusative, "while still casting about for."

17. **quae . . . esset**: the indirect question depends upon *incertos* (= "who had not yet decided"). **praesentem**: "the first arrival," literally "whoever was on the spot (first)."

19. **sicuti . . . ita . . .**: cp. *sicut . . . ita . . .*, **35**, 7. For *inter se noti*, see note on **1**, 6.

23. **quod . . . esset**: the subjunctive gives the reason which suggested itself to Hannibal. **auxerant**: the subject is analysed into the two following nominatives, *Scipio* and *Hannibal*. **inter se opinionem**: "the respect which each had for the other."

27. **traiciendarum Alpium**: objective genitive, dependent upon *conatu*. **occupavit traicere**: "was the first to cross"; see note on **33**, 4.

29. **educeret**: for the mood, cp. note on *reciperent*, **5**, 46.

Ch. 40-41. Argument.—*Here Scipio, for the encouragement of his men, delivered a speech, making light of Hannibal's army, and claiming that justice and the gods were on the side of Rome. He had come back from his province of Spain, simply because his dearest wish was to defeat the leader who had thus broken faith with Rome.*

[See Index for Eryx.]

40. 2. **supersedissem**: "I should have refrained"; usually constructed with an ablative, the infinitive being first found in Livy.

3. **referret**: potential subjunctive; it is from the impersonal *rēfert*, "to be of importance."

4. **vicissent**: subjunctive by assimilation to *referret*; possibly also consecutive, in which case *eos equites . . . eas legiones* should be rendered by "cavalry . . . legions" without "the." Scipio is alluding to the petty skirmish described in **29**.

6. **confessionem . . . certamen**: "his admission of retreat and of refusal to fight," the participles doing duty for English abstract nouns.

7. **Hispaniae provinciae**: "for (service in) the province of Spain," dative of advantage.

8. **meis auspiciis**: only a commander-in-chief could "take the auspices," *i.e.* by due performance of sacrifice obtain the gods' blessing upon his endeavours. Cn. Scipio, therefore, as a mere *legatus* or deputy-commander, could take no auspices of his own, but was considered to be acting under those of his superior officer Publius Scipio, though the latter was hundreds of miles away.

10. **ego . . . obtuli**: coordinate with the preceding clause, both being causal clauses; the principal sentence is *novo . . . sunt*.

11. **voluntario**: for it was by his own choice that he had returned to Italy. Had he obeyed the letter of his orders, he would have himself passed on to Spain.

13. **ne . . . ignoretis**: the clause expresses the purpose, not of the action of the principal verb (*est*), but of the mention of that action ("I may remind you that . . . ").

15. **per viginti annos**: according to the draft-treaty of Lutatius Catulus, Carthage was to have paid a *stipendium* of 2200 talents in 20 years. According to the revised treaty the sum was fixed at 3200 talents to be paid in 10 years.

16. **Sardiniam**: not acquired by Rome at the close of the First Punic War, but in 237 B.C. (Introduction, p. xv).

20. **duabus partibus**: "two parts (out of three)," *i.e.* "two-thirds."

22. **perieriut . . . supersint**: subjunctive of reported definition, being dependent on the accusative and infinitive *eos . . . nactos esse*. **at enim**: see note on **18**, 26.

24. **quorum . . . possit**: the subjunctive is consecutive (*quorum* = *ita ut eorum*).

25. **immo**: used to introduce a correction, "nay rather . . ."

27. **ad hoc**: "besides," "moreover." **praeusti**: "frost-bitten," *urere* being used of the effects of cold as well as of heat.

32. **decuerit**: the subjunctive with *forsitan* is that of dependent question (*forsitan = fors sit an*).

33. **foederum ruptore**: "treaty-breaking," the phrase qualifying *duce* and *populo* as an adjective.

34. **secundum**: the preposition, "next after." *Bellum profligare* is "to break the back of the war," "to bring the war almost to an end."

41. 1. **vestri adhortandi**: the genitive singular neuter of the gerundive is used with the genitive of the personal pronouns, these forms being in origin the genitive singular neuter of the corresponding possessive adjectives.

2. **ipsum**: equivalent to and coordinate with *me*. *Ipsum . . . esse* is accusative and infinitive dependent on *existimet*.

5. **haberem**: potential, "I should have had (if I had gone)."

8. **ad famam**: "on the news of."

10. **qua parte copiarum**: referring to *equites*, implied in *equestri*.

11. **fudi**: Scipio was not present in person, but the victory was gained under his auspices.

13. **tanto . . . circuitu**: the ablative modifies the preceding phrase *quanta . . . celeritate*, "in view of the wide detour." *Quanta maxime* is a variation from the ordinary idiom *quam maxima*.

15. **timendo**: ironical. **cum . . . certamen**: closely with *improvidus incidisse*, *i.e.* "Does it look as if I were trying to avoid a conflict and had come across him unawares?"

16. **occurrere in vestigiis**: "come to face him in his own path."

18. **per viginti annos**: "in the twenty years," since the end of the First Punic War.

20. **denariis**: ablative of price. Nothing further is known of the "ransom" alleged to have been paid by Hamilcar on evacuating Eryx. The amount paid (13s. or 14s. a head) is small, and was perhaps a nominal sum exacted as an acknowledgment of defeat.

21. **aemulus . . . Herculis**: "anxious to rival the travels of Hercules," who was fabled to have crossed the Alps into Italy when on his way from Gades (Cadiz) with the oxen of the giant Geryon.

22. **vectigalis stipendiariusque**: as *stipendium* means "tribute," *stipendiarius* means "one who pays tribute." *Vectigalis* means the same thing, the only difference being that originally *vectigal* was a tax paid in kind, while *stipendium* was a money tax. In reality Carthage was never subject to either the one or the other, though she had paid "indemnities" of 3200 and 1200 talents respectively.

26. **deduxit**: down (*de-*) from the fortress on the mountain.

31. **velim**: potential subjunctive.

34. **humanorum**: sc. *suppliciorum*.

37. **tutelae . . . duximus**: sc. *eos*, "regarded them as under our protection." The genitive is possessive used predicatively. During the Mercenary War (Introd., p. xiv.) the Romans allowed the Carthaginians to buy corn in Italy and Sicily and to enlist troops in Italy.

39. **oppugnatum patriam**: the construction of the supine with an accusative is avoided by Cicero, but is frequently admitted by Livy.

40. **utinam . . . esset**: the imperfect subjunctive expresses a wish that something were now otherwise than it is.

43. **agebatur**: "the question was."

44. **qui . . . obsistat**: consecutive subjunctive. But *possint* in l. 46 is potential.

48. **corpus suum**: we should say "himself."

49. **putet**: jussive. So *agitet* and *reputet*.

50. **identidem**: "over and over again." *Hoc* is the direct object of *reputet*.

52. **fuerit**: subjunctive of reported definition representing a future-perfect in the direct form.

53. **haec . . . consul**: sc. *dixit*; cp. **18**, 10.

Ch. 42-44. ARGUMENT.—*Hannibal also sought to hearten his men, and after gratifying them by a gladiatorial display, addressed them in tones of confidence. They were bound to win, he said; and indeed the only alternative was to die. The spoils of victory would be worth the winning. And after all the Roman was not so formidable a foe: the army before them had been routed by Gauls a month or two ago, and its general did not know his men as Hannibal knew his Carthaginians. He declared that he was fighting to save the honour and the liberty of Carthage. The war was not of his making. He repeated that they had no course but to conquer or to die.*

42. 5. **victor**: equivalent to a protasis, "in the event of his conquering" in the proposed duel.

6. **decertare**: "fight to the death" (*de-*).

7. **deiecta**: into an urn, or perhaps a helmet; so we speak of "casting" lots. **in id**: "for the purpose" of deciding who should be permitted to fight.

8. **eum optabat**: sc. *esse*, *eum* being predicative. **cuiusque**: i.e. *et cuius*, the antecedent being the unexpressed subject of *capiebat*.

10. **capiebat**: the imperfect is used because the combatants would arm themselves one by one as the lot fell to them. **ubi . . . dimicarent**: iterative subjunctive.

11. **is**: followed by a consecutive *ut*, *is* must be rendered by "such."

13. **non . . . magis quam**: it is best to take *bene morientium* first and to substitute "no less than" for *non magis quam*.

43. 1. **paribus**: here a neuter substantive, "pairs," "couples." **adfectos**: sc. *suos*, "his men." *Sic* belongs closely to *adfectos*, "in such a frame of mind."

5. **vicimus**: for the perfect in the apodosis with a future protasis (*habueritis*), cp. **8**, 21.

7. **ac nescio an**: "indeed, I rather think that." With *nescio an* the alternative to which the speaker inclines is mentioned, whereas "I do not know whether" introduces the alternative which he is inclined reject. *Circumdederit* is perfect subjunctive in indirect question.

10. **circa**: often used (as here) of that which shuts in on more sides than one, though not on all sides. The Po runs first south-east, then east, and consequently bars the way westward as well as southward.

11. **vobis**: dative of the agent.

15. **victoribus**: "if you win"; cp. *victor*, **42**, 5. **quibus**: ablative of the standard of comparison, "greater (rewards) than which."

17. **parentibus**: dative of the indirect object with *erepta*, "wrung *from* our fathers."

19. **partum**: "earned." 20. **vestrum**: the predicate.

21. **in**: "in pursuit of." **agite dum**: in this and similar idioms *dum* is merely a particle lending emphasis to the imperative.

22. **satis**: "long enough." **vastis**: "desolate."

23. **pecora consectando**: *i.e.* chasing stray cattle. Hannibal is here addressing Spanish herdsmen who had enlisted in his army.

25. **tempus est . . . facere**: "it is high time to make . . ." The construction is accusative and infinitive, *vos* being the subject. *Ditia* = *divitia*, from *dives*.

29. **emeritis stipendiis**: "when your campaigns are over." So *emeriti* (deponent) = "time-expired troops," "discharged veterans."

30. **nec . . . existimaritis**: "and do not think." The use of the perfect subjunctive in prohibitions is probably a colloquial idiom, somewhat peremptory in tone; the polite substitute is *noli* or *nolite* with the infinitive. **magni nominis**: genitive of quality standing as predicate. We should say "great in name."

33. **momento**: "circumstance"; the metaphor is from the turn of the scale. **dempto . . . fulgore**: the ablative absolute has the force of a protasis, "if the glamour . . . were to be done away with."

34. **quid est, cur**: "what reason is there why . . ?" **comparandi**: "comparable"; cp. note on **19**, 6.

35. **ut . . . taceam**: we say "*to* make no mention of." The subjunctive is here final.

36. **Herculis columnis**: the Straits of Gibraltar, the two "pillars" being the opposite hill-promontories of Gibraltar and Ceuta.

39. **caeso . . . circumsesso**: referring to the events described in **25**.

40. **ignoto . . . ignorantique**: ablatives in agreement with *exercitu*. When used as adjectives, present participles form the ablative singular in *-i*.

41. **an**: *an* introducing a single question (instead of, as usual, the second alternative of a double question) implies indignation or astonishment on the part of the questioner. **praetorio**: see note on **3**, 3.

43. **eundem**: "too," "as well."

44. **semenstri**: for Scipio had only commenced his consulate on March 15th, at the most some seven months previously.

45. **desertore**: alluding to his having left his original force at Marseilles under his brother's command, with orders to proceed to Spain.

46. **ignoraturum**: sc. *eum esse*. **certum habeo**: "I am convinced."

47. **parvi**: "as a small thing"; genitive of value.

48. **cuius**: the clause is consecutive, and hence the mood of *ediderim*. So in the next clause, *cui . . . possim*. *Non* (l. 48) goes with *ediderim*.

49. **facinus**: the word means simply a "deed," good or bad according to the context; here it may be rendered "exploit."

44. 3. **frenatos**: Spanish cavalry. **infrenatos**: the Numidians are said to have ridden without saddle or bridle. **socios**: Spaniards, Ligurians, etc.

4. **cum . . . tum**: cp. **19**, 3.

11. **qui . . . oppugnassetis**: "on the ground that you had besieged." The subjunctive is that of the reported cause; cp. **1**, 13. **deditos**: the participle is equivalent to a protasis, "(had we been) surrendered."

13. **sua**: predicative; cp. *vestrum*, **43**, 20. **sui arbitrii**: for the genitive, cp. *tutelae nostrae*, **41**, 37.

14. **habeamus**: dependent question, representing a deliberative subjunctive in the direct form; so *excedamus* in l. 16. The indirect question *cum . . . habeamus* depends upon *modum* (= "definition"), *aecum* (= *aequum*) being predicative, "think it fair that they should lay down definitions, etc." *Montium fluminumque* must not be taken literally: the reference is only to the Ebro.

17. **ne transieris**: peremptory; see note on **43**, 30, and cp. *nusquam moveris*, l. 19. Hannibal is quoting the supposed words of the Roman Government, and his own replies. **ne . . . sit**: jussive subjunctive. *Est mihi res* (or *aliquid rei*) *cum illo* means "I have somewhat to do with him."

18. **at**: introducing an imaginary objection on the part of a Carthaginian.

19. **vestigio**: ablative of separation.

20. **adimis**: the speaker is Carthage, the person addressed Rome personified.

22. **transcendes autem**: "'will you cross?' said I?" **transcendisse**: understand *Romanos* as subject.

23. **Africam . . . Hispaniam**: for these were the two *provinciae* of the consuls of the year; see **17**, 2. Sempronius was, however, recalled when about to make a descent on Africa.

26. **respectum**: "the possibility of looking back," *i.e.* "a means of retreat." *Sua . . . suus* refer to things belonging to the persons denoted by *quos*; see note on **29**, 14.

29. **dubitabit**: euphemism for "not continue favourable."

31. **omnibus**: dative, but *animo* is ablative. We should say "fixed and rooted in the minds of all."

32. **contemptu**: ablative of the standard of comparison with *acrius*.

Ch. 45-48. Argument.—*The Romans bridged the Ticinus, and crossed the river to the vicinity of Victumulae, where the enemy lay encamped. On the eve of battle Hannibal solemnly pledged himself to reward his troops on the most lavish scale, should fortune favour them. The engagement was brought on by accident, and ended in a victory for Hannibal. In this fight the famous Scipio of Zama won his spurs. The consul was able to make good his retreat to Placentia, whither Hannibal*

presently followed, though it is not clear where or how he crossed the Padus. Scipio now fell back on the Trebia, and Hannibal seized the stores at Clastidium.

[See Index for Clastidium, Placentia, Trebia.]

45. 2. **militum animi**: in English we should say "the soldiers" rather than the "soldiers' minds"; cp. note on **41**, 48. **ponte . . . iungunt**: "threw a bridge over."

4. **ala**: a "squadron" of horse, the cavalry commonly forming the wings of the army.

5. **sociorum**: apparently the Ligurians.

9. **quinque milia passuum a Victumulis**: "five miles from Victumulae." In such statements of *distance* (as distinct from *motion*), the preposition is always added, and the measure of the distance is generally expressed by the accusative of extent.

13. **certa**: previously (**43**, 26) Hannibal had only spoken vaguely. **in quorum . . . pugnarent**: the clause is final (*quorum* = *ut in eorum*).

15. **inmunem**: "rent-free." The construction from *agrum sese* to *redditurum* (l. 22) is that of *oratio obliqua*, the sequence being historic, except in the case of *velit*, graphically substituted for the normal *vellet*.

19. **daturum . . . operam**: *operam dare* is "to take care." **ne cuius . . . vellent**: "that they should not wish for the lot of any one of their countrymen in exchange for their own." *Secum* is an instance of *comparatio compendiaria*: *secum* stands for *cum fortuna sua*. *Cuius* is from the indefinite *quis*.

22. **rata**: passive, as in **19**, 7.

23. **silicem**: the knife of flint or other hard stone (cp. *saxo*, l. 26) ordinarily used in sacrifices. **si falleret**: the words of the *precatio* were: *si fallam, ita me di mactent* (jussive subjunctive), *quem ad modum . . . mactavero*.

25. **secundum**: a preposition, "immediately after," as in **40**, 31.

26. **dis . . . acceptis**: "the gods had been taken as vouchers for their several hopes." *Quisque* is in apposition to *omnes*.

27. **id morae, quod . . . pugnarent**: "the fact that they were not already fighting was a delay." *Morae* (sc. *esse*) is predicative dative.

28. **ad potienda sperata**: the gerundive of *potior* is a relic of its transitive use in older Latin, *i.e.* of its use with an object in the accusative; intransitive verbs have no gerundive. *Sperata* is substantival.

46. 2. **super cetera**: *super* = *praeter*, as in **31**, 35.

3. **lupus**: signifying Hannibal, as the bees (l. 4) signify his army. **obviis**: "those who came in its way." The substantival use of an adjective in the masculine plural is common only in the case of adjectives that denote classes of persons, e.g. *boni*, *maiores*, *antiqui*.

5. **procuratis**: technical for "attending to," *i.e.* "expiating," an evil omen.

6. **iaculatoribus ex peditibus**: "foot-javelineers." **ad castra**: sc. *speculanda*, from *speculandas* in l. 8.

9. **circa**: adverb used adjectivally, "all about." **neutri alteros**: the words *uter*, *neuter*, *alter*, *alteruter* may be used in the plural when two *parties* (not two *individuals*) are spoken of.

10. **incessu**: as in **36**, 14.

14. **quod roboris fuit**: "what there was of veteran troops." **in subsidiis**: they formed the main body rather than the reserve.

16. **cornua**: the "wings." **firmat**: the meaning is not that Hannibal strengthened already existing wings with Numidians, but that he constituted powerful wings consisting of Numidians.

19. **pedites**: viz. the *iaculatores* of ll. 13, 16.

20. **ubi . . . vidissent**: iterative subjunctive; these words go closely with *desilientibus*.

21. **ad pedes pugna venerat**: "the affair had reduced itself to an infantry engagement."

25. **pubescentis**: the youth meant is P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, who was at this date (218 B.C.) seventeen years of age, *i.e.* according to Roman ideas, had just attained his majority. †**erit**: "will be found to be." There is a variant *erat*.

27. **de**: the construction *victoria de aliquo* is formed on the analogy of *triumphare de aliquo*, "to triumph *over* so-and-so." For *victoriam de Hannibale* Ciceronian prose would require *victoriam de Hannibale reportatam*; cp. **15**, 18.

29. **alius . . . equitatus**: the expression suggests that some of the Roman cavalry had fled.

33. **natione**: "by race," ablative of respect.

34. **fama obtinuit**: "the tradition has generally obtained," *i.e.* "prevailed." *Quod* is the object of *tradidere*, but not of *obtinuit*, for the latter is here intransitive; but the necessary thought (e.g. *id factum esse*, "that this was really the case") is easily supplied.

47. 5. **vasa**: *i.e.* their "baggage."

6. **iunxerat**: sc. Scipio. For the meaning of *iungo*, cp. **45**, 2.

9. **sciret**: the subjunctive implies that the action of the clause was purposely anticipated, "before he could know"; cp. note on **5**, 46.

10. **citeriore**: "nearer" to Hannibal, *i.e.* the northern bank. *Ratem* (or *navem*) *solvere* is "to unmoor" a ship. Here, as the bridge was of boats, it means "to cut" the bridge.

12. **rate**: collective. The northern end of the line of boats having been cut, while the southern end remained moored *in situ*, the whole bridge swung down with the stream. **in secundam aquam**: "down the stream"; cp. *secunda aqua*, **28**, 26.

13. **Magonem**: Hannibal's younger brother.

17. **peritis amnis eius**: "to those who are acquainted with the river, as was Livy himself, who was a native of Patavium (Padua). **fecerint**: potential subjunctive, giving a modest tone to the assertion; cp. note on **18**, 18.

19. **ut iam**: "even supposing that." The clause is concessive, and hence the verb is in the subjunctive.

20. **petenda fuerunt**: "would have had to be sought for." For the indicative, cp. **19**, 6.

21. **qua**: "at a spot where"; cp. *ea*, l. 23.

22. **iungendo flumini**: dative of purpose.

27. **ad**: "towards." 28. **sex milia a Placentia**: see note on **45**, 9.

29. **derecta**: *aciem derigere* has the same meaning as *aciem instruere*, "to arrange one's forces in battle-array." *Derigere* is the correct form, not *dirigere*.

30. **potestatem . . . fecit**: "gave (the enemy) a chance of fighting," *i.e.* "offered battle."

48. 2. **tumultu . . . re**: ablatives of respect.

3. **ad**: adverb, as in **22**, 10.

10. **quarta vigilia**: about 3.30 a.m.; see note on **27**, 4.

12. **inpeditiores equiti**: "more difficult for cavalry," *eques* being collective.

13. **fefellit**: "escaped notice." 14. **utique**: "at least," "at any rate."

17. **nullo pretio**: ablative of attendant circumstance.

18. **transgressos**: *i.e.*, according to Mommsen and others, to the right (eastern) bank; but the point is one that cannot be definitely settled.

22. **collegam**: the consul Sempronius, whose original *provincia* was Sicily, and who was to have proceeded if possible to Africa.

26. **hostium**: Gauls who had not joined Hannibal.

28. **numerum**: "quantity." 29. **mittit**: *sc.* troops.

30. **pretio**: ablative of price. **nummis aureis**: Livy is reckoning the sum (probably paid in bars of gold) in the coinage of his own day (1 *nummus aureus* = £1 1s. 1½d.) There was no gold coinage at Rome until 217 B.C., and but little at that date at Carthage.

31. **Brundisino**: "a native of Brundisium" in Calabria, now Brindisi, then, as now, the great port for the eastward trade. The Dasii were a leading family of the anti-Roman party in Apulia and Calabria.

34. **colligeretur**: "might be built up *or* won."

Ch. 49-51. ARGUMENT.—*Meantime there had been sundry naval movements in Sicilian waters, mostly in favour of the Romans, to whom Hiero lent his aid. An attempt by a Carthaginian squadron to seize Lilybaeum ended in its complete defeat. The consul Sempronius arrived immediately afterwards; but being at once ordered to join Scipio on the Padus, he had only time to take what steps he could for the protection of the coasts of Sicily and Southern Italy. He sailed for Ariminum, and thence marched to the Trebia.*

[See Index for Ariminum, Hiero, Lilybaeum, Messana.]

49. 1. **constitisset**: Scipio was remaining on the defensive, and Hannibal was engaged in trying to enlist Gauls and Ligurians.

interim: this refers to the period during which the *terrestre bellum* had been going on.

2. **inminentes**: "adjacent to," *Italiae* being the dative case. The Lipari Isles, north of Sicily, are meant, of which the principal was known as *Insula Vulcani* (l. 6), now Volcano.

6. **tenuerunt**: sc. *cursum*.

7. **fretum**: the Straits of Messina, separating Sicily from Italy. **eas**: the three ships last mentioned. *Ad eas conspectas = ad conspectum earum.*

12. **cuius . . . classis**: we should say "besides the fleet of twenty sail to which they themselves belonged." **missas**: referring to *naves* in l. 11.

14. **veteres socios**: in the west of Sicily. **occupandi**: "surprising," before the Romans could send reinforcements.

16. **deiectam**: the force of the prefix is "out of their course," whereas *dis-* in *disiecti* (l. 15) implies separation from the main body.

19. **teneret**: for the semi-dependent jussive, see note on **19**, 31.

20. **tribuni**: sc. *militum*. In each legion there were six military tribunes, who acted as captains of the legion, two at a time, for two months each pair, thus completing the campaigning year of six months. They were originally appointed by the consuls, but in 362 B.C. the *plebs* obtained the right to appoint six of them. **intendere**: historic infinitive. So *teneri*. Join *curam custodiae* closely, "careful vigilance.

22. **socii navales**: members of the allied communities of Italy, who served as rowers and seamen on board the Roman fleets.

23. **ut . . . ne . . .**: equivalent to *ne*; the idiom is not rare.

24. **conscendendi**: sc. (*in*) *naves*, "getting on board"; cp. l. 30. **qui prospicerent**: "(persons) to keep a look out for." The clause is final, and the antecedent to the relative is in *dimissis*, ablative absolute coordinate with *edicto proposito*.

28. **sublatis armamentis**: "with all sails set," which would make them easily seen in the moonlight. Conversely *armamenta demere* (l. 34) is "to take in sail." *Armamentum* includes any portion of a ship's rigging, tackle, and accessories.

32. **erant**: plural verb with a collective singular subject; cp. **37**, 24.

33. **rem fore . . . cum**: "that they would have to deal with."

36. **altum**: substantival, as usual; "the high seas," "open water," where there was room for manœuvring.

39. **gestarum rerum**: the Roman victory off the Aegatian Islands, 242 B.C.

50. 2. **vires conferre**: "put their relative strength to the test." The principal verb of the sentence is the historic infinitive *velle*. So in the next sentence *eludere . . . gerere . . . malle* are also historic infinitives.

3. **arte**: *i.e.* by skilful manœuvring, so as to get in the rear of the enemy's vessel and ram it. The Romans had never been seamen, and could not do this. Therefore they fitted their vessels with grappling

irons, and so boarded the Carthaginian ships, defeating them by sheer force of numbers. It was in this way that they won the battle of Mylae (N.E. of Sicily) in the First Punic War, 260 B.C.

3. **navium**: the Carthaginians relied more upon the superior build of their vessels and upon tactics, especially upon the use of the ram (*rostrum*), with which all warships were armed; cp. l. 13. The Roman, weak in these points, sought to grapple with his enemy and reduce the struggle to a hand-to-hand fight upon the decks.

5. **sociis navalibus**: see note on **49**, 22. Here it is applied to the Carthaginians, and means simply "seamen," as contrasted with "marines" (*miles*).

6. **sicubi . . . esset**: iterative subjunctive.

8. **sua**: referring to the dative *Romanis*, which may be regarded as the logical subject.

13. **perforata**: it had been "rammed" by the bronze "beak" of a Carthaginian vessel, but not so badly but that it could get back to port unaided.

15. **eius**: sc. *pugnae*, objective genitive depending upon *gnaris* (sc. *iis*), which is an ablative absolute.

18. **praetoriam navem**: "flagship" of the Roman *consul*; see the note on *praetorium*, **3**, 3.

23. **senem**: he was now nearly ninety years of age. **adiuturum**: sc. *se*.

26. **quibusdam volentibus**: dative in imitation of a common Greek idiom. *Res novae* is "revolution," and the whole clause means "some (of the towns) would be glad of a revolution," *i.e.* glad to throw off the Roman yoke. In ordinary Latin this would be *quibusdam novas res gratas fore*.

27. **nihil cunctandum . . . quin**: "there must be no delay about (*or* in)" sailing.

30. **accepere**: "they heard," "received intelligence."

51. 3. **Melitam**: now Malta, 68 miles south-west of the southern corner of Sicily.

5. **cum . . . milibus**: "with some 2000 or a little less." The phrase *paulo minus* does not affect the case of the numeral; cp. note on *amplius*, **29**, 10.

8. **sub corona**: "by public auction," because slaves thus put up for sale were garlanded with flowers (*corona*, "a garland"). **ab ea parte**: "*in* this (*i.e* the western) quarter."

9. **insulas Vulcani**: the Lipari Islands, here called after the principal island of the group; cp. **49**, 6.

11. **iam forte**: to be taken closely together.

13. **Viboniensi**: belonging to Vibo (otherwise Vibo Valentia), a town of Bruttium on the west coast, fifty miles above Rhegium (Reggio). **repetenti**: "while he was on his way back."

16. **primo quoque tempere**: "the very first opportunity," the addition of *quisque* serving to strengthen the superlative.

19. **supero**: to the Romans the Adriatic was *Mare Superum*, the

Upper Sea; the sea off the west shore of Italy was *Mare Inferum*, the Lower Sea.

21. **quinquaginta . . . explevit**: "made up his fleet to a total of fifty sail."

23. **decem navibus**: we might have expected *cum decem navibus*, but the vessels are regarded as instruments. **legens**: "coasting along." **Ariminum**: now Rimini, on the Adriatic, thirty miles south of Ravenna. It commanded a road from Cisalpine Gaul to Rome, and a road also led thence to Placentia.

Ch. 52-53. ARGUMENT.—*The Gauls still hesitating to join him, Hannibal tried to terrorise them, which only led to their openly appealing to Rome. Sempronius insisted on lending them help, and thus gained a small success over Hannibal's raiding cavalry. This so elated him that he resolved to force on a decisive fight at once, despite Scipio's opposition. Hannibal soon learnt the facts, and at once set himself to bring on the battle.*

52. 1. **iam ambo consules . . . oppositum**: "the presence of both consuls (sc. *oppositi*) and all the forces of Rome to oppose Hannibal." The whole expression forms the subject of *declarabat*.

4. **consul alter**: Scipio, who had been defeated and wounded at the Ticinus.

6. **alter**: Sempronius. The genitive *recentis animi* is that of quality. For the meaning of *recens*, "fresh," cp. **16**, 15. **quod . . . agri est**: "all the land there is"; cp. *quicquid virium erat*, l. 1. The district meant must be that between the Padus and the left (west) bank of the Trebia (cp. *trans Trebiam*, l. 27).

8. **ambiguum favorem**: they would take neither side until they saw which was the stronger, but furnished each indifferently with supplies.

10. **modo**: equivalent to *dummodo*. **aequo**: sc. *animo ferebat*, "was fairly (*satis*) content with."

14. **deinceps**: "from that spot," lit. "beginning from there"; the adverb here stands in place of an adjective.

16. **ad id**: sc. *tempus*, "thus far." *Dubios* is predicative, "neutral." **ab auctoribus**: to be taken with *declinant*.

19. **fidem in Romanos**: "loyalty *to* Rome."

21. **ut**: "even supposing that," "although."

22. **recentem . . . perfidiam**: the seizure of the Roman envoys at Mutina (**25**, 23).

24. **primos . . . defensos**: "the defence of the first who needed aid." Cp. the translation of *oppositum* in l. 2, and note on **1**, 20.

25. **peditum**: genitive of material or definition.

27. **sparsos**: sc. *hostes*. **ad hoc**: "moreover."

32. **ad extremum**: "in the upshot."

53. 1. **iustior**: "more complete"; cp. note on *iusto*, **17**, 25.

2. **videri**: historic infinitive. So *efferri*. *Gaudio efferri* is "to be carried away with delight," "to be overjoyed."

grow feeble," like old men. **quid differri**: in *oratio obliqua* the infinitive is used to represent a question which in *oratio recta* would be in the first or third person indicative. The same applies to a question in the second person indicative if practically equivalent to a negation; other second person questions are represented by the subjunctive. *Differri* here represents the impersonal *differtur*, "there is delay."

11. **victis**: dative of indirect object; cp. *parentibus*, **43**, 17. **cis**: from the Roman point of view, *i.e.* north of the Ebro.

14. **bellare soliti**: an exaggeration. No Roman soldiers had as yet seen the walls of Carthage, except those who had gone with Regulus, only to be killed or captured there.

17. **suae dicionis fecisse**: see note on **41**, 37.

18. **contionabundus**: cp. *temptabundus*, **36**, 2.

19. **comitiorum**: the election of consuls for the next year (March 15, 217—March 14, 216 B.C.), which took place not later than Feb. 13. The clause really means that Sempronius *was afraid* of the proximity of the elections, that is, of the expiry of his own year of command; and the following clause, *ne . . . differretur*, is constructed as if a verb of fearing had been expressed.

24. **quid optimum foret hosti**: viz. a policy of caution and delay.

26. **alterius**: Sempronius.

30. **quod**: the indefinite *adjective*, in agreement with *tempus*.

31. **dum . . . esset**: the subjunctive is used because the implication is that it was Hannibal's *purpose* to fight while the conditions were favourable.

33. **segnius**: sc. *tanto*, correlative to *quanto*. For the idiom, see note on **31**, 4.

35. **facere**: "to force" an engagement.

37. **quia . . . militabant**: a fact which made it very easy for them to come and go as spies.

Ch. 54-57. ARGUMENT.—*He set Mago in ambush with two thousand men; ordered his main force to make an early meal; and sent his Numidians across the Trebia to draw the Romans out of their trenches. The latter fell into the trap. But the chill morning air and the bitterly cold water through which they had to wade chilled the Romans to the bone, for they had not yet breakfasted. The sudden attack of Mago on their rear, and the charge of the elephants upon their flank, completed their demoralisation. Those who escaped fled mostly to Placentia. The news caused a panic in Rome. Hannibal occupied himself during the winter in raiding, and though repulsed in an assault on one depôt, he took and burned Victumulae.*

54. 1. **in medio**: *i.e.* between the Carthaginian camp and the Trebia.

3. **equites . . . tegendo**: the construction of a dative gerund with a direct object, instead of the gerundival construction in the dative, is found here only in prose, and is very rare in poetry.

4. **circumvectus**: sc. *equo*.

5. **quem teneas**: final; cp. *cum quibus venias*, l. 7; *quem insideatis*, l. 12.

6. **centenos**: the distributive is used because there are to be one hundred *each* of horse and of foot. **corpora curare**: with food and sleep, as in **31**, 1.

8. **praetorium missum**: "the council of war was dismissed." *Praetorium*, properly "the general's quarters," here has the transferred meaning of "council," owing to its being the place where the officers met; cp. the parliamentary use of the word "House." Contrast the meaning of *praetorium* in **3**, 3.

11. **novenos**: each of the two hundred was to select nine men more.

12. **vestri**: genitive with *similis*, which is not constructed with the dative of personal pronouns.

17. **iniecto . . . certamine**: "when a fight had been started."

23. **ferox**: "confident."

24. †**ad destinatum**: "according to his resolve *or* purpose," the participle being used substantivally. Some editors read *a* (or *ab*) *destinato . . . consilio*, "*according to* his purposed design."

27. **paludium**: the regular form is *paludum*.

30. **quidquid . . . adpropinquabant**: literally "to whatever extent they drew nearer to," *i.e.* "the nearer they drew to." *Quidquid* is accusative of extent.

32. **insequentes**: nominative case.

33. **egressis . . . omnibus**: dative of the possessor. *Rigere* and *deficere* are historic infinitives.

55. 2. **manipulos**: the term is said to be derived from the "handful" or wisp of hay which formed the primitive military standard. The normal strength of the infantry of a legion at this time may be put at 4,200. Of these, 1,200 were *hastati* (the front rank in battle), 1,200 were *principes* (second rank), 600 were *triarii* (third rank), and 1,200 were *velites* ("skirmishers"). The *hastati* and *principes* each formed ten maniples of 120 men each, and the *triarii* formed ten maniples of 60 men each. A maniple was divided into two equal centuries, each under the command of a centurion. Twenty *velites* were assigned to each century. **per otium**: equivalent to an adverb, "quietly."

5. **Baliares**: the whole of the light-armed troops seem to be here included under the term (cp. ll. 21, 28), not the slingers only. **ante signa**: the *signa* ("standards") were borne by the first fighting line. *Ante signa* therefore means "in front."

7. **quod . . . erat**: "all his offensive and defensive force." For the distinction between *vires* and *robur*, see note on **1**, 7.

8. **ab cornibus**: "outside the wings."

11. **receptui**: dative of purpose, "for retreat."

12. **socium**: genitive plural, as in **17**, 4. The *socii nominis Latini* were those communities who enjoyed such portion of the rights of a

citizen as had originally been accorded to the members of the Latin League, chief of which were the *ius commercii*, or right of holding property under the safeguards of Roman law, and *ius conubii*, or right of making a legal marriage.

13. **in fide**: "loyal."

16. **diducta**: "withdrawn" to the right and left wings, to attack the Roman cavalry.

21. **eminentes**: they were so placed (l. 8) as to "stand out" at the extremities of the line right and left.

24. **recentis**: (accusative plural) part of the predicate.

29. **latera**: "the flanks" of the Romans.

30. **simul**: conjunction, "as soon as." **inprovida**: English would use an adverb, "thoughtlessly."

34. **velites**: the *levis armatura* of l. 5. Their offensive weapon on the present occasion was the *verutum*, a pike about four feet long.

56. 1. **trepidantis**: accusative, sc. *elephantos*. **consternatos**: "stampeding."

2. **in extremam**: sc. *aciem*. The meaning is further explained by *ad sinistrum cornu*. On this side the enemy would not be protected by their shields from an attack in flank.

5. **in orbem**: "in a circle," or as we should say "in square." Cp. note on *agmine quadrato*, **5**, 47.

9. **interclusis**: dative of disadvantage.

10. **imbri**: ablative. The use of *prae* in the sense of "for," *i.e.* "on account of," is confined to negative expressions. **qua . . . ferrent**: indirect deliberative subjunctive.

11. **recto itinere**: along the left (western) bank, and then probably crossing the Trebia by a bridge near its confluence with the Padus.

16. **contendere**: perfect indicative.

18. **homines**: evidently the Carthaginians are meant.

20. **Poenis**: dative.

24. **Trebiam traicerent**: here Livy, probably following Coelius, seems to place the Roman camp on the left (west) bank. But the details appear untrustworthy, for it is difficult to see either whence the rafts were obtained, or how Scipio notwithstanding his wound was able to resume the command.

26. **quietis Poenis**: ablative of attendant circumstance (ablative absolute).

28. **Pado**: "by way of the Padus." The ordinary construction would be *exercitum Padum traiecit* (active) or *exercitus Padum traiectus est* (passive); but in order to avoid ambiguity, the river crossed is expressed by an ablative (of the "road by which") when the goal of motion (here *Cremonam*) is also mentioned, or *trans* is repeated (*trans Padum traiectus Cremonam*).

29. **duorum**: for the fugitives from the actual fight had also gone to Placentia (l. 16).

57. 2. **crederent**: the subject is not expressed, because indefinite.

4. **vim**: "an assault." **uno . . . revocatum**: the construction down to *arcessantur* is that of *oratio obliqua* in primary sequence.

5. **victo . . . revocatum**: the recall of Sempronius had in reality taken place before the defeat of Scipio on the Ticinus.

7. **esse**: for the infinitive in questions in *oratio obliqua*, see note on **53**, 7. **quae arcessantur**: the mood would be the same in *oratio recta*, the clause being final ("to be called up"). **territis**: dative, sc. *eis*.

11. **in praesentia**: ablative. **comitiis consularibus**: the election of consuls for the ensuing year, 217 B.C.

12. **hiberna**: at Placentia.

14. **Romanis**: *i.e.* the legions at Placentia and Cremona.

15. **ut quaeque . . . erant**: sc. *loca*, "whenever the country was too difficult for them (the Numidians)."

17. **Pado**: ablative of the "road by which." *Subvehere* means "to bring *up* stream," as *devehere* "to carry *down* stream." The subjunctive is iterative.

18. **emporium**: "a base of supplies," "depôt."

22. **spei**: partitive genitive dependent on *plurimum*. *Ad effectum* is to be joined closely with *spei*, "hope of striking a successful blow." **adortus**: concessive.

24. **sub lucem**: "just before dawn"; cp. note on **2**, 1.

26. **in quo quia**: "and inasmuch as in it."

29. **†Victumulas**: evidently not the same as the Insubrian *Victumulae* mentioned in **45**, 9. Some editors here prefer the reading *Victumvias*; but there may well have been two places of the same name.

31. **inde**: *i.e.* after the Gallic rising of 225 B.C. **frequentaverant**: *frequentare* is here "to make populous *or* crowded" (*frequens*). **mixti**: Gauls and Ligurians.

34. **ad**: "near"; cp. *prope Placentiam*, l. 18.

35. **agmina . . . acies**: contrasted as men on the march, and men in battle array, respectively.

38. **ad**: adverb.

42. **ulla . . . clades**: "any kind of outrage."

44. **editum in miseros**: "visited upon the wretched inhabitants."

Ch. 58-59. ARGUMENT.—*Before the spring was fairly come Hannibal endeavoured to cross the Apennines into Etruria, but failed owing to the terrible weather. An attempt to induce Sempronius to give battle again only led to a small skirmish, of which the issue was doubtful.*

58. 1. **longi . . . temporis**: genitive of quality with *quies*. For *dum* with the imperfect indicative meaning "all the time that," see note on **13**, 11.

2. **frigora**: "the cold each day." 3. **ducit**: sc. *exercitum*.

7. **superaverit**: for the perfect in historic sequence, see note on *fuerint*, **1**, 10. **ora**: sc. *militum*.

8. **omittenda**: *omittere* is "to lay down" for a time, not "to abandon." **contra**: adverb.

10. **spiritum intercluderet**: "took away their breath."

13. **capti auribus et oculis**: "deafened and blinded." So *captus pede* = "lame." The ablative is one of respect.

17. **explicare**: "to unfurl" the tents, a difficult matter even in a moderate wind.

19. **levata vento**: "drawn up by the wind" in the form of vapour. As the vapour rose, it condensed into snow, hail, and sleet.

27. **fieri est coeptus**: the passive of *coepi* is regularly used with a passive infinitive. *Coeperunt* must be understood with *movere* and *recipere*.

28. **tendere**: "sought to obtain"; historic infinitive.

59. 1. **ad**: "to the neighbourhood of." In the next line *ad* is an adverb meaning "about."

2. **decem milia**: sc. *passuum*.

4. **Sempronius consul**: for his year of office did not expire until March 14th, 217 B.C. It was now late in February.

5. **tria**: "*only* three."

6. **bina**: with substantives which have no singular, or none in the required sense, distributive numerals are used where otherwise the cardinals would be required.

10. **vallo**: on each of the four sides of a Roman camp there was a ditch (*fossa*), the earth from which was thrown up in a bank on the inner side (*vallum*). Livy assumes that Hannibal's camp was similarly fortified.

14. **potiundi**: an archaic form of the gerund (= *potiendi*).

15. **accepit**: "was informed of."

16. **recessum**: sc. *esse*, impersonal.

17. **mediis castris**: not "from the middle of the camp," but "from the camp between," *i.e.* midway between the cavalry acting right and left.

18. **aequa**: "undecided." *Aequior* is not used in this sense; hence *magis*.

20. **accensum**: "begun," literally "kindled."

22. **clade pari**: ablative of attendant circumstance.

24. **eius**: "of that *total*," *eius* being substantival. *Dimidium eius* = "half that number." Before *dimidium* understand *ab utraque parte* from *ab neutra parte*.

25. **equestris ordinis**: in early times the Roman cavalry consisted of wealthy citizens; later the cavalry was furnished by the allies, and the term *equites* was applied without regard to military service, and from 123 B.C. included all non-senators who possessed a certain amount of property; this amount was fixed by Augustus at 400,000 sestertii (£3,400). **tribuni militum**: see note on **49**, 20.

26. **praefecti sociorum**: the principal officers of the allied forces. Each consul appointed twelve as a rule, making twenty-four for the year; but the number would of course vary with the forces called out. They were usually distinguished Romans, often of equestrian status.

28. **Lucam**: in north Etruria, now Lucca, thirty miles west of Florence. **Hannabali**: to be taken with *traduntur* (l. 32).

29. **quaestores**: financial officers, or "paymasters." As a rule one accompanied each consular army. These were probably the quaestors of the armies of Scipio and Sempronius.

32. **iis**: the Ligurians.

Ch. 60-61. Argument.—*Meantime fortune had favoured Gnaeus Scipio in Spain. His tact induced many tribes to furnish him with new recruits; and in a pitched battle near Cissis he completely defeated Hanno. But on Scipio's retiring to the coast, Hasdrubal at once moved north again, and chastised some of the disaffected tribes. Scipio reappearing, Hasdrubal fell back; and the Romans spent the rest of the season in making good their hold upon the region between the Pyrenees and the Ebro.*

[See Index for the Scipios.]

60. 1. **dum . . . geruntur**: resuming the narrative from **32**, 11.

3. **Emporias**: now Ampurias, a Greek colony upon the Spanish coast immediately below the eastern termination of the Pyrenees.

7. **dicionis fecit**: see note on **41**, 37. **fama**: nominative to *valuit*. *Conciliata* = "which he (Scipio) had acquired." **ad**: "among."

8. **mediterraneis**: "of the interior"; neuter.

9. **gentes**: "tribes," as contrasted with the more civilised peoples on the coast (*populos*).

11. **cohortes**: these allied troops were not incorporated in the legions, but formed separate corps.

12. **cis**: *i.e.* to the north of.

13. **alienarentur**: for the subjunctive see note on **5**, 46.

16. **quippe qui sciret**: "for he knew." *Quippe* may be joined with any relative that introduces an explanation.

22. **capiuntur**: the construction is in accordance with the sense (*dux cum principibus* = *dux et principes*).

23. **parvi pretii rerum**: *parvi pretii* is genitive of quality with *rerum*, which is a genitive of material with *praeda*.

61. 1. **accideret**: as purpose is not implied the indicative would be in accordance with Ciceronian usage. Cp. the subjunctive with *donec* in **28**, 36.

3. **mille equitum**: *mille* is here used as a substantive, by analogy with *octo milibus*.

5. **procul Tarracone**: Livy is the first prose writer to use *procul* as a preposition; Cicero always has *procul ab*.

6. **classicos milites**: each warship carried, besides the *socii navales* or navigating seamen, a small number of fighting men (*classici*, "marines").

7. **ut . . . creent**: explanatory of *quod*.

13. **Tarracone**: local ablative. For *Emporias*, see note on **60**, 3.

19. **cum**: the conjunction.

20. **Atanagrum**: this town is not mentioned elsewhere. It was in the lands of the Ilergetes, and therefore near the modern Lerida.

24. **et ipsos**: *i.e.* like the Ilergetes.

27. **excepit**: regularly used of "trapping" an animal. **ad**: the adverb, *milia* being nominative.

30. **triginta dies**: accusative of duration of time. In the next line *quattuor pedes* is the corresponding accusative of extent of space. *Minus* does not affect the case of *pedes*; cp. note on **29**, 10.

32. **pluteos**: screens of wicker and hide, similar in purpose to the *vineae*, for which, see note on **7**, 12.

33. **fuerit**: cp. *superaverit*, **58**, 7.

35. **talentis**: ablative of price. A talent of silver was worth about £243 15s. **deduntur**: "gave themselves up," an instance of the reflexive use of the passive voice.

Ch. 62-63. ARGUMENT.—*Numerous portents being reported, the Senate decreed expiatory ceremonies. The public apprehension was heightened by the conduct of the consul-elect, C. Flaminius, who, aware that the Government detested him and therefore fancying that some excuse would be found to prevent his taking the field, neglected all the customary ceremonials and sacrifices, and left the city by stealth to assume his command, on March 15th, at Ariminum; where he took over an army of four legions from Sempronius and Atilius. His assumption of command was attended by disquieting omens.*

[See Index for Caere, Flaminius, Lanuvium.]

62. 3. **in quīs**: i.e. *in quibus*; the form is rare in Livy.

4. **foro olitorio**: "the vegetable market," lying on the bank of the Tiber, between the river and the Capitoline Hill. The *forum boarium* (l. 5), "cattle market," lay between the river and the Palatine Hill. **triumphum**: the vocative *triumphe* is treated as the internal object of *clamasse*.

9. **hastam . . . commovisse**: one of the so-called sacred spears which hung in many temples.

10. †**pulvinari**: the sacred "couch" used at the ceremony of the *lectisternium*, for which see note on l. 22. The oldest MS. has *pulvinario*, but the form *pulvinarium* instead of *pulvinar* is not otherwise known.

11. **Amiternino**: "belonging to Amiternum," a Sabine town in the Apennines.

12. **vīsos**: the substantive is purposely omitted. Livy does not care to say *what* they were, "beings that looked like men." The phrase *hominum specie* stands as an ablative of description, the genitive *hominum* replacing the usual epithet (e.g. *humana*).

13. **lapidibus**: the ablative is instrumental. **Caere**: locative, as in l. 22. The word is indeclinable. There was a temple of Fortune here in which the future was foretold by means of slips of wood (*sortes*) inscribed with ancient sentences. These were shaken together by the priest, and the first to fall out contained, in its motto, the desired prophecy. If these "lots" swelled, it was a sign of good fortune; of the opposite, if they shrank.

14. **vigili**: "a sentinel." For the dative with *abstulisse*, cp. *vobis adimit*, **13**, 20.

15. **libros**: *i.e.* the Sibylline books, said to have been brought to Rome in the time of Tarquinius Superbus (534-510 B.C.). They were consulted whenever it was deemed necessary to propitiate the gods, and were in charge at this time of a Board of Ten (*decemviri*), in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

16. **pluvisset**: "because, as the decree stated, it had rained"; subjunctive of reported cause.

17. **procurandis**: for the meaning, see note on **46**, 5. *Aliis procurandis* is dative of the indirect object with *operata fuit*.

20. **maiores**: "mature," in contrast with *lactentes*, "unweaned." **quibus editum est**: sc. *ut caederentur*, "to such divinities as it was prescribed that such sacrifices be offered." **donum . . . quadraginta**: literally "an offering (consisting) of forty (pounds) of gold by weight." With *quadraginta* sc. *libris* (*libra* = "a pound"). *Pondo* is the ablative of an absolute base *pondo-* (second declension). **Iuncni**: dative of advantage, "in honour of Juno."

21. **Aventino**: the Aventine Hill, the most southerly of the hills of Rome, on the bank of the Tiber below the *forum boarium* (1. 5).

22. **lectisternium**: a ceremonial parade of the most sacred images of gods and goddesses, which were draped and set out upon *pulvinaria* (1. 10), before tables loaded with food.

23. **Algido**: the *Mons Algidus*, fifteen miles south-east of Rome.

24. **†Iuventati**; the goddess *Iuventas*, the personification of youthful energy, and wife of Hercules. Some late MSS. have *iuventuti*, *i.e.* that portion of the population who were *iuvenes* (between seventeen and forty-five), as opposed to *universo populo*, the entire community.

25. **nominatim**: "specifically," as opposed to *omnia pulvinaria*.

26. **Genio**: *i.e.* the *Genius Populi Romani*, or Guardian Spirit of the Romans as a nation. As each individual was supposed to have his own *genius* (literally "birth-spirit," from the root of *gigno*, *genus*), so too had the community as a whole.

27. **praetor**: there were at this date four praetors elected annually, two to act as justices in Rome, two to govern the transmarine provinces of Sicily and Sardinia-Corsica. **suscipere**: *vota suscipere* means "to undertake (*i.e.* to pledge oneself to) vows." **si . . . stetisset**: subjunctive of reported condition; the praetor was to say *vota solvam, si res publica steterit* (future-perfect).

29. **Sibyllinis**: see note on 1. 15. The books were so-called as being supposed to be the utterances of the "Sibyls" or "Wise-Women," of whom the Sibyl of Cumae was the most famous. *Ex* = "in accordance with."

63. 1. **designatorum**: "designated" for the ensuing year, which would commence March 15, 217 B.C.

2. **sorte evenerant**: *i.e.* he had obtained this "command" as his *provincia* by the usual *sortitio*, "ballot." See note on **17**, 1. As both

consuls for 217 B.C. were to act in Cisalpine Gaul, the *sortitio* could only determine which of the two consular armies (of Scipio and of Sempronius) at present stationed in Cisalpine Gaul each of the *designati* should command.

5. **memori**: dative, agreeing with *Flaminio* understood with *consilium erat*.

6. **tribunus**: in 232 B.C.; see Index.

7. **consul prius**: 223 B.C. In that year Flaminius campaigned against the Insubrians, and in the ill success which attended his earlier operations his political enemies found an excuse for attempting to deprive him of his command, alleging that his election was invalid by reason of certain irregularities. They sent him a dispatch to that effect, which Flaminius ignored. The imperfect (*abrogabatur*) expresses attempted action. **de triumpho**: his campaign ended with a decisive victory, and Flaminius thereupon demanded a triumph, *i.e.* a state entry into Rome, with his troops, captives, and spoils. The Senate refused it, but the people in *comitia* decided that he was entitled to it.

8. **legem**: the *Lex Claudia Mercatoria*, which forbade members of the Senate and their sons to engage in trading. The object of the law was to prevent the moneyed interest from obtaining undue influence in the Senate, but it completely failed of its purpose.

9. **uno patrum**: "alone amongst the Senators."

12. **trecentarum amphorarum**: the Romans reckoned by *amphorae* as we reckon by tons. An *amphora* = 7 gallons, or somewhat less; 300 *amphorae* = (roughly) 2000 gallons = 8 tons burthen. A vessel of this tonnage was amply large enough for bringing the produce (mostly wine and oil) of the senators' estates (*agri*) to Rome for sale; but it was too small to be of service for over-sea trade. The genitive is one of quality. **habitum**: sc. *est*, "was accounted." *Id* means "that size," "that tonnage."

14. **indecorus**: with *patribus*, "unseemly for senators," not with *risus*.

15. **nobilitatem**: substituted for *patres* for the sake of variety. **suasori**: *suasor* is "one who supports" a proposal.

16. **alterum**: viz. in 217 B.C.

17. **ementiendis**: no matter of state was performed without preliminary sacrifices and observance of omens; and if the Augurs, whose duty it was to observe them, could be bribed to report them unfavourable, all action would at once be stopped. Flaminius feared that they would report the omens unfavourable when he wished to leave the city. **feriae Latinae**: an annual festival, six days in length, celebrated upon the Alban Mount by the consuls, in honour of *Iuppiter Latiaris* (l. 28), "Jupiter of the Latins," and in memory of the ancient league of the thirty Latin cities with Rome. The consuls were not allowed to leave Rome until the *Feriae* were completed, and it depended upon the Augurs to fix the date for the festival. It might therefore be postponed for weeks on the plea of adverse omens.

18. **consularibus . . . impedimentis**: "other means of hampering a consul." With *retenturos*, sc. *patres* as subject.

19. **privatus**: "as a private citizen. **clam**: without the formal entry upon office. This entailed: (i) assumption of the robe of office (*toga praetexta*); (ii) procession to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol; (iii) the *votorum nuncupatio* (l. 25), or registration of vows on behalf of the community, and the fulfilment by the sacrifice of white cattle of the similar vows made by his predecessor a year ago; (iv) formal meeting of the Senate on the Capitol to decide upon the date for the *Feriae Latinae*. After this came the further ceremonies attending the consul's departure for the front. These included: (i) assumption of the *paludamentum* (the uniform of an *imperator*); (ii) taking of the auspices in the temple of Jupiter, and registration of further vows for success. It was only after all this had been done that the consul was held to go to the front *auspicato*, "with good omens." Otherwise he went *inauspicato*, and was foredoomed to failure. As the augurs might declare the *auspicia* unfavourable on this latter occasion also, Flaminius did not give them the opportunity.

21. **patribus**: dative.

23. **inauspicato**: see note on *inexplorato*, **25**, 28; and cp. *auspicato*, l. 29 below.

24. **spretorum**: sc. *deorum*.

25. **sollemnem**: properly "annual," and so "customary." For the meaning of *nuncupatio*, see note on l. 19.

26. **optimi maximi**: "great (and) good," epithets of Jupiter Capitolinus.

28. **Latinas**: sc. *ferias*; see note on l. 17. *Indicere* was the technical term for "fixing the date." **Iovi Latiari**: to Jupiter in his capacity of guardian of the Latin League.

29. **monte**: sc. *Albano*.

30. **lictoribus**: each consul was attended on all public occasions by twelve *lictores* carrying the fasces, or rods of office.

31. **modo**: "like." **insignibus**: "marks" of his rank.

33. **solum vertisset**: *solum vertere*, "to change one's soil," is to go into exile. **videlicet**: "obviously," strongly sarcastic.

35. **penates**: the tutelary gods of the house, and so the "home" itself. **praetextam**: sc. *togam*, the distinctive robe of the higher magistrates, characterised by its purple border.

41. **litterae . . . missae**: see note on l. 7.

43. **ei**: dative of disadvantage.

46. **ignaros, quid trepidaretur**: "persons who did not know what the excitement was about," the indirect question depending upon the verbal force in the adjective. *Quid* is an accusative of specification ("in reference to what"), and the verb is impersonal.

47. **in omen . . . acceptum**: "was taken *to be* an omen."

49. **in Etruriam**: Flaminius only got as far as Lake Trasimenus, where he was ambushed and slain and his army destroyed by Hannibal. Devout Romans believed this to be a divine visitation upon him for his neglect of the auspices.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

The numbers in brackets refer to the chapters of the Latin text.

A.

Aegātes Insŭlae, Aegatium Insularum, f. : three small islands off the west promontory of Sicily. Off the most westerly of them, Hiĕra, was fought the naval battle in which C. Lutatius Catulus destroyed the Carthaginian fleet under Hanno, and so ended the First Punic War, 241 B.C. (**10**).

Aemilius, -i, m. : (1) M. Aemilius Lepidus. (2) L. Aemilius Papus. (3) L. Aemilius Paulus. See *Lepidus*, *Papus*, *Paulus*.

Afrĭca, -ae, f. : used by the Roman writers as a general name for the continent of Africa with the exception of the eastern parts (Egypt and Cyrenaica). The native Africans, or Libyans, in the immediate vicinity had been reduced by Carthage to the condition of serfs who paid a tax of one-fourth on the produce of the soil. Beyond them lay the various Numidian and other wild tribes who were only nominally subject to Carthage. The harsh treatment alike of the serf population and of the nomad tribes led to continual revolts, and accounted for the success which attended the landing in Africa of Regulus in 255 B.C., and of Scipio in the Second Punic War.

Albānus, -i, m. (*sc.* Mons) : the Alban Mountain, east-south-east of Rome, about fifteen miles from the city. Specially *Mons Albanus* was the hill on which stood *Alba Longa*, the reputed mother-city of the Romans. More generally the same name included all the range of hills from Alba to Tusculum. Here were celebrated the *Feriae Latinae* in the temple of *Jupiter Latiaris* (**63**).

Alimentus, -i, m.: L. Cincius Alimentus, praetor in 211 B.C., and pro-praetor of Sicily, 210 B.C. He was taken prisoner by Hannibal, and treated by him with great distinction, unlike the rest of the Roman captives. He wrote a history (*Annales*) of Rome from the earliest times to the end of the Second Punic War, and is quoted by Livy. Much of his information was obtained directly from Hannibal, *e.g.* as to the number of men in the Carthaginian army who reached Italy, the route, etc. (**38**).

Allobrŏges, -um, m. (sing. Allobrox) : one of the chief Gallic tribes, dwelling about the confluence of the Rhone and Isère, and

more particularly in the district known as the *Insula Allobrogum*. On Hannibal's arrival there, he found two brothers disputing for the headship. He restored to power the elder of them, by name *Braneus* (**31**).

Antipăter, -tri, m.: L. Coelius Antipater, a historian of the time of Gaius Graccus, 123 B.C., who wrote a history of the Second Punic War. Livy differs from him in his account of Hannibal's route (**38**), in the manner of Scipio's rescue at Ticinus (**46**), and in the account of Mago and the cavalry crossing the Padus (**47**).

Ardĕa, -ae, f.: one of the very earliest cities of Latium, eight miles from the sea, and the legendary capital of Turnus, chief of the Rutuli. It was conquered by the Romans 442 B.C., and colonised. Fugitives from here are said to have joined the Zacynthians in founding Saguntum (**7**).

B.

Baliāres, -ium: (1) *sc.* Insulae, the three islands off the east coast of Spain, Majorca, Minorca, and Iviza (Baliaris Maior, Minor, and Pityussa). (2) The inhabitants of these islands, who were the most famous slingers of the ancient world (**21, 22**).

Barcīnus, -a, -um: belonging to Barca, *i.e.* Hamilcar (*q.v.*).

Boii, -orum, m.: a Gallic tribe which had crossed the Alps from Transalpine to Cisalpine Gaul, occupying part of the region south of the Padus. The Boii formed part of the Gallic army defeated at Telamon, 225 B.C., and the planting of the colony of Placentia in 219 B.C. produced a violent rising amongst them, in which L. Manlius Vulso was defeated and Mutina blockaded (**25**). See Introduction, § v. They promised Hannibal their support on his arrival.

C.

Caerĕ, n., indecl.: a very ancient city of South Etruria, twenty-seven miles north-west of Rome. It was the native place of the Tarquins, and on the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus the Caerites tried to restore him. They were admitted in 353 B.C. to a share in the citizenship of Rome known as the "Caerite franchise," *i.e.* the private rights of citizens of Rome without the power to vote. The city had a famous oracle of Fortuna, and amongst the prodigies of 218 B.C. the lots (small wooden tablets) used there shrank (**62**).

Carpētāni, -orum, m.: the largest and most powerful tribe of central Spain, occupying a wide territory between the Tagus and Hiberus. They were reduced by Hannibal in 220 B.C., but made an effort to recover their independence in the same year (**5**). They were defeated in a battle on the Tagus (*ibid*). During the siege of Saguntum they were chastised anew for threatening revolt (**11**), and 3,000 of them, serving in Hannibal's army, deserted during the passage of the Pyrenees.

Carthāgo Nŏva, Carthagĭnis Novae, f.: now Cartagena, at the south-east corner of Spain, founded as capital of the Spanish Empire

by Hasdrubal, 228 B.C.. It was the regular winter station of the Carthaginian troops, the best harbour on that coast, and in the richest part of Spain.

Catŭlus, -i, m.: Gaius Lutatius Catulus. (1) The consul of 242 B.C., who annihilated the Carthaginian fleet at the Aegates Insulae, and so forced Carthage to make peace. See Introduction, § iii. (2) Son of the above, a commissioner for distributing the lands of Placentia, attacked by the Boii, 218 B.C., and shut up in Mutina (**25**).

Celtibēria, -ae, f.: *i.e.* Celtic Spain (Iberia), the highland of central Spain, so called because the population consisted mainly of Celtic immigrants from Gaul. Reduced by Hannibal in 221-219 B.C., it was afterwards conquered by the Romans, but only after nearly two hundred years of intermittent warfare.

Cenomāni, -orum, m.: a tribe of Cisalpine Gaul, north of the Padus, between the Insubres and the Veneti. They sided with the Romans throughout their history; and the Brixiani, who assisted Vulso in 218 B.C., were of this tribe (**25**). They also fought for Scipio at the battle of the Trebia (**55**).

Cincius: *s.v.* Alimentus.

Clastidium, -i, n.: a corn-depôt of the Romans, fifteen miles due south of the confluence of the Ticinus with the Padus, and thirty miles west of the Trebia. Its commander, Dasius of Brundisium, betrayed it to Hannibal for four hundred pieces of gold (**48**).

Coelius, -i, m.: *s.v.* Antipater.

Cornēlius, -i, m.: *s.v.* Scipio. The *Cornelia gens* was one of Rome's most famous patrician *gentes*.

Cremōna, -ae, f.: a Roman colony on the north bank of the Padus, thirty miles east of Placentia and the Trebia, planted at the same time as Placentia, 219 B.C., to keep the Insubres in check. Its colonisation, and that of Placentia, roused the Boii to revolt, 218 B.C. (**25**). See Introduction, § v.

Cremonis iugum, -i, n.: possibly the Cramont, near the little St. Bernard (**38**).

D.

Druentia, -ae, m.: the Durance, a tributary of the Rhone, which it joins forty miles from the mouth, below Avignon. It rises amongst the Cottian Alps. Hannibal crossed it high up, at a spot dangerous because of the shifting of the river-bed and the force of the stream (**31**).

E.

Eryx, Erÿcis, m.: a mountain and town on the west coast of Sicily, near Drepanum. It was famous for its temple of Aphrodite. The mountain was seized by the Romans at the close of the First Punic War, and here they were blockaded by Hamilcar for many months. A second Roman force then blockaded Hamilcar in his turn, but he held the position until the battle of the Aegates Insulae cut off his communications by sea, and he was forced to surrender (**10**).

There the terms of peace were ratified at the close of the First Punic War (**41**), and the ransom-money paid by Carthage.

Etrūria, -ae, f.: the modern Tuscany, bounded on the north and east by the Apennines and Tiber; on the other side by the Mare Tyrrhenum. It was anciently the greatest power in Italy, and supplied Rome with kings. Later it became dependent on Rome, and was loyal to her throughout the Second Punic War.

F.

Fabius, -i, m.: *s.v.* Maximus.

Flaminius, -i, m.: Gaius Flaminius, consul for the year 217 B.C. Hated by the nobles and senators because of an agrarian law carried by him in 232 B.C., by which the Picentine territory was distributed among the poorer citizens, he was very popular with the masses; and he was twice elected consul, 223 B.C. and 217 B.C. Fearing that his second election would be set aside, he left the city secretly and hurried to Ariminum to take over Sempronius' army, omitting to perform the customary sacrifices and vows. He declined to return when bidden to do so by the Senate, and in the following campaign he was surprised at Lake Trasimenus, in Etruria, and his army almost annihilated.

G.

Gādes, -ium, f. pl.: the name of an island and town of Hispania Baetica, now Cadiz, between the Straits of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Baetis (Guadalquivir). Hannibal went thither in the early spring of 218 B.C. to redeem his old vows in the temple of Hercules (Melcarth), and to take new ones (**21**).

Galli, -orum, m.: Gauls, inhabitants of Gallia (*q.v.*). They were a Celtic people akin to the Highland Scots, Welsh, and Irish. From early times they were the dreaded enemies of Rome, having defeated her forces at the battle of the Allia, burned the city, and plundered the Capitol in 390 B.C. In 225 B.C. a fresh incursion was made at the invitation of the Boii (*q.v.*), but it was crushed at the battle of Telamon (see also Introduction, § v.) Large bodies of Gauls joined Hannibal, while others, as the Volcae on the Rhone and the mountaineers of the Alps, opposed him fiercely.

Gallia, -ae, f.: the country of the Gauls. The name of Gauls was applied to all Celtic tribes on either side of the Alps. Hence the greater part of north Italy was known as Gallia Cisalpina, and what is now known as France was called Gallia Transalpina. Cisalpine Gaul was again divided by the river Po (Padus) into Transpadane Gaul to the north, and Cispadane to the south. In the former dwelt the Cenomani, Insubres, and Taurini; in the latter, the Boii, extending into Northern Etruria. On the east, Cisalpine Gaul was bordered by the Veneti and other Illyrian tribes about the head of the Adriatic; on the west by the Ligures and the Alps.

H.

Hamilcar, -ăris, m.: (1) surnamed Barca (Hebrew, Barak, "Lightning"), was appointed to a command in Sicily during the First Punic War, 247 B.C.. He seized Ercte, and held it for three years against the entire army of Rome; and then, suddenly passing to Eryx, blockaded one Roman army there, and was himself at the same time blockaded by another, for two years. His supplies being cut off after the defeat of Hanno at the Aegates Insulae, 241 B.C., he surrendered honourably, but swore undying vengeance against Rome. The Mercenary War of 241 to 238 prevented his putting his oath into execution at once; but after ending that war he passed into Spain, and commenced the conquest of that country as a base of operations against Italy. He died 229 B.C. in battle, and was succeeded by Hasdrubal. (2) Son of Gisco, commander of the island of Melita, which he surrendered to Sempronius 218 B.C., together with its garrison of 2000 men (**51**).

Hannĭbal, -ălis, m.: eldest son of Hamilcar Barca. He was born 246 B.C., and accompanied Hamilcar to Spain in 236 B.C. Before leaving Carthage he swore to be the enemy of Rome for all his days (**1**). He served under Hamilcar and Hasdrubal throughout the Carthaginian operations in Spain, and Livy is mistaken when he makes Hasdrubal send for him, *circ.* 229 B.C. (**3**). On the death of Hasdrubal, Hannibal was proclaimed General by the army and accepted by the Spanish tribes. He instantly began his career of conquest. The Olcades were subdued in 221 B.C. (**5**), and, after wintering at New Carthage, he moved against the Vaccaei. On his return, a coalition of the newly conquered tribes—Olcades, Carpetani, and Vaccaei—endeavoured to cut him off, but were completely routed on the Tagus, 220 B.C. (**5**). Saguntum now remained the only independent State south of the Ebro. Hannibal supported the Turdetani in a quarrel with the Saguntines, and laid siege to the town in the early part of 219 B.C. (**6**). The Saguntines appealed for help to Rome, and an embassy was sent to warn Hannibal off. He declined to receive the embassy (**9**), which then passed over to Carthage and found the home government prepared to defend Hannibal's conduct. War was declared at the end of the same year. Hannibal again wintered at New Carthage, and gave his men leave of absence for the winter (**21**). On reassembling in the spring of 218 B.C., they were reviewed; and Hannibal marched to the Ebro (*ibid.*), after first visiting Gades, where he sacrificed to the Phoenician Hercules, and renewed his vows. At Onussa Hannibal dreamed of his success in Italy, and at once moved across the Ebro with 102,000 men (**22, 23**). He spent some weeks in conquering the north-east corner of Spain, between the Ebro and the Pyrenees; and, leaving Hanno in command there, he passed into Gaul. At Iliberris he had a conference with some Gaulish chiefs, who permitted him to march unmolested to the Rhone (**24**). The passage of this river was forced in the teeth of a strong body of Gauls, who were taken in the rear by Hanno (**27, 28**). Thence Hannibal marched up the stream to the

junction of the Isère and Rhone, where of two brothers, chiefs of the Allobroges, he restored to power the elder, who had been ousted by the younger (**31**). In gratitude, the Allobrogian provided food and clothing for Hannibal's army, and he moved forward to the Durance. The stream was crossed with some difficulty, and the ascent begun (**31**). It lasted nine days, during the whole of which the natives harassed the army (**31-35**). The descent was even more disastrous, owing to the badness of the road, and a halt of four days was necessary at one spot in order to construct a road. Italy was at last reached with about 40,000 men. Here Hannibal rested a little, and exhibited some gladiatorial games to cheer his men (**42**), and made a long speech to them (**43-45**). The Ticinus was then crossed in the face of the Romans, who were defeated (**46**); and, though most escaped, Hannibal succeeded in cutting off a body of engineers at the bridge over the Po (**47**). He then crossed that stream higher up, and offered battle near Placentia, seizing the Roman supplies stored at Clastidium (**48**). Sempronius by this time joined Scipio, and at the battle of the Trebia the Romans were completely defeated (**52-56**). Hannibal now went into winter quarters, and in the very first days of 217 B.C. endeavoured to cross the Apennines. He was driven back by bad weather (**58**), and only crossed them at all with great loss. About this time he had lost an eye from ophthalmia. At Lake Trasimenus, in Etruria, he defeated Varro with a consular army, 217 B.C., and at Cannae, in Apulia, in the following year, routed the Romans with the loss to them of 50,000 men. Various Italian cities joined him, but there was no general revolt from Rome such as he had hoped for; and when the consul and dictator, Fabius Maximus, adopted the policy of wearing him out by waiting, fighting no great battles, the Italians gradually reverted to their old allegiance. Hannibal continued to be more or less successful until 207 B.C., when Hasdrubal, marching to join him from Spain, was defeated and slain on the Metaurus in Umbria. After this reverse he was reduced more and more to the defensive, until the action of Scipio in invading Africa forced him to quit Italy and defend his own country, 203 B.C. In the following year he was defeated disastrously at Zama by Scipio, and accepted the Roman terms of peace. In 198 B.C., Antiochus III., king of Syria, was at war with Rome, and Hannibal joined him. Defeated in 190 B.C. because he declined to follow Hannibal's advice, Antiochus agreed to surrender the latter to Rome. Hannibal fled to Prusias, King of Bithynia, where, being again in danger of betrayal, he poisoned himself in 183 B.C., being over sixty years of age.

Hanno, -ōnis, m.: (1) the admiral defeated at the Aegates Insulae by Catulus, 241 B.C. (2) Surnamed "the Great," leader of the pro-Roman or aristocratic party at Carthage, and the sworn foe of the family of Barca. His hostility arose from the preferment of Hamilcar Barca to the command in the Mercenary War. He opposed the presence of Hannibal in Spain (**3**), and recommended his surrender to Rome after the attack of Saguntum (**10**). He also opposed the war continually, and it was probably by his influence that no material aid

was sent to Hannibal during the years of his presence in Italy. (3) Left by Hannibal to protect the coast-road of the Pyrenees, with a force of 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse. He marched against Cn. Scipio on the latter's arrival, but was defeated at Cissis, his camp, his treasures, and himself captured **23, 60**). (4) Son of Bomilcar, despatched one day's march up the Rhone secretly, to cross the river and outflank the Gauls who were barring the passage of Hannibal (**27, 28**). The movement was completely successful. Hanno continued to occupy important commands in Italy, and in particular led the right wing of the Carthaginians in their victory at Cannae, 216 B.C.

Hasdrŭbal, -ălis, m.: son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca, whom he succeeded as commander in Spain, B.C. 229 (**2**). He was characterised rather by diplomacy than by generalship. He founded New Carthage 228 B.C., and conquered much of the interior of Spain. He was assassinated 221 B.C., by a slave who sought to avenge his master's death. With this Hasdrubal was made the treaty of 228 B.C., by which the Hiberus was declared the limit of the Carthaginian advance in Spain, and Saguntum made neutral. (2) Brother of Hannibal, left as commander-in-chief in Spain, where he was engaged for seven years in conflict with the Scipios, Gnaeus and Publius, whom he at last defeated and killed in two battles at twenty-nine days' interval, 211 B.C. In 207 B.C. he marched across the Alps to bring reinforcements to his brother. The two Consuls for that year, Nero and Livius, effected a junction in Picenum by rapid marches, and forced Hasdrubal to an engagement on the river Metaurus, where his army was cut to pieces and himself slain.

Hibērus, -i, m. (also Iberus): the Ebro, one of the largest of the rivers of Spain. It rises amongst the Cantabrian Mountains, in the north of Spain, and after a course of 340 miles, in a south-east direction, falls into the Mediterranean. It was fixed as the northern limit of Carthaginian power in the treaty between Rome and Hasdrubal, 228 B.C. (**2**).

Hiĕro, -ōnis, m.: king of Syracuse in Sicily. His attempt to expel the Mamertines from Messana led to the First Punic War, but in 263 B.C. he made peace with the Romans, and remained their ally until his death, 216 B.C. During the year 218 B.C. he captured three Carthaginian ships of war when carried towards the Straits by the current, and gave information to the Roman praetor which prevented the surprise of Lilybaeum and enabled that officer to defeat the enemy's fleet (**49**). He also escorted Sempronius to Lilybaeum, and volunteered supplies of men, clothing, and provisions.

Hispānia, -ae, f.: Spain. At the date of the outbreak of the Second Punic War all Spain was in the power of Carthage, though, beyond a number of trading-stations on the coast, she had no possessions there previous to 236 B.C. In that year Hamilcar Barca crossed into Spain and founded the Spanish Empire, which was extended by his son-in-law Hasdrubal and by Hannibal. At this time the Romans had no influence in the peninsula; and therefore it was an insult that they should stipulate in the treaty with Hasdrubal,

228 B.C., for the Hiberus (Ebro) to be the limit of the Carthaginian advance. To secure a footing they stipulated also for the neutrality of Saguntum (*q.v.*). Spain is one of the richest mineral countries in the world, fertile, and famous for its wool. These resources were productive of immense revenues to Carthage: and it was with a full perception of its value that Hamilcar selected Spain as a *point d'appui* against Rome. The march of Hannibal lay along the coast east of the Pyrenees; and it was to secure this road against the maritime power of Rome and her intrigues with the natives that he took Saguntum, and reduced the tribes of the Pyrenees and Catalonia.

I.

Ilergētes, -um, m.: a mountain tribe of the Pyrenees around Lerida in north-east of Spain, subdued by Hannibal on his march (**23**). They afterwards joined Scipio, and were again reduced by Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal (**61**).

Illy̆rii, -orum, m.: the Illyrians, occupying the east coast of the Adriatic down to the frontiers of Greece. They were a nation of pirates, and their aggressions brought them into conflict with Rome 229 B.C., when they were defeated and their queen, Teuta, mulcted of much of her territory. See Introduction, § v.

Insŭbres, -ium, m.: a Gallic tribe of Transpadane Gaul, about the Ticinus and modern Milan. They were amongst the tribes who invited Hannibal into Italy, and he chastised their enemies the Taurini as soon as he was able to move after crossing the Alps (**39**).

Insŭla, -ae, f.: the name of a lowland district between the Rhone, where it curves south at Lyons, and the Isara (Isère), which joins it some way below. It was occupied by the Allobroges (*q.v.*), whose affairs Hannibal set in order (**31**).

Isăra, -ae, m.: the Isère, a chief tributary of the Rhone, which it joins near Valence, after a south-west course from the Pennine Alps. It formed the south boundary of the country of the Allobroges.

L.

Lānŭvium, -i, n.: one of the most important cities of old Latium, lying 20 miles south-east of Rome near the Alban Hills. It was famous for its worship of Juno Sospita (the Saviour), and her temple was annually visited by the Consuls (**62**).

Libŭi, -orum, m.: also called Libici and Lebicii, a half Ligurian tribe of the western parts of Gallia Transpadana. Their capital was Vercellae, near the river Sessia. They were subjects of the Insubres (**38**).

Ligŭres, -um, m.: a semi-savage and very ancient tribe of the Maritime Alps and Western Italy. They formed a regular contingent in all great Carthaginian forces, and joined Hannibal on his arrival in Italy. They were almost the last of the Italians to submit

to Rome (**22**). Hannibal wintered amongst them 218-217 B.C., and to him they gave up two Romans quaestors whom they had seized (**59**).

Lilybaeum, -i, n.: a famous fortress, situated on the westernmost point of Sicily, opposite to Cape Bon, and so commanding the approach to the island from Africa. It was founded by Carthaginians about 397 B.C., and was besieged for a year by Pyrrhus, 276 B.C., without success. Again in the First Punic War it held out for ten years against the Romans, and only surrendered upon the defeat at the Aegates Insulae. Off Lilybaeum the praetor Lepidus defeated a Carthaginian fleet early in 218 B.C. (**49**, **50**).

Longus, -i, m.: Tiberius Sempronius Longus, consul 218 B.C. He was awarded Sicily and Africa as his province, with Lepidus as his praetor in Sicily. He reached Sicily just at the time of the defeat of the Carthaginians off Lilybaeum. He put Sicily in a state of defence, and cruised among the neighbouring islands, getting possession of Melita by surrender (**57**). Being suddenly recalled to unite with Scipio against Hannibal on the Po, he sent his army and fleet round by sea to Ariminum, and there joined them a few days later. His rashness brought on the battle of the Trebia and the defeat of the two armies. After this Sempronius returned to Rome for a space to hold the comitia (**57**). Three years later he was successful as a commander in Lucania, 215 B.C.

Lusitānia, -ae, f.: in later times one of the divisions of Spain, corresponding to the modern Portugal. In Livy's time, however, there was no such division, and he speaks only of the country of the Lusitani, a warlike people of the west coast, north of the Tagus. It is spoken of as a bleak country that bred nothing but cattle (**43**).

Lūtātius, -i, m., *s.v.* Catulus.

M.

Māgo, -ōnis, m.: Hannibal's youngest brother; he came with him to Italy, and was said to have crossed the Padus with his cavalry by swimming (**47**). He commanded the ambuscade at Trebia (**54**), and also a part of the forces at Cannae. In 215 B.C. he was sent back to Spain to aid Hasdrubal; and died in 203 B.C., from a wound received in battle with the Romans in Cisalpine Gaul.

Maharbal, -ălis, m.: son of Himilco, left by Hannibal to besiege Saguntum, while he himself punished the rebellious Spanish tribes (**12**). His efforts were so vigorous that Hannibal on his return was able to order the final assault almost immediately. He commanded the cavalry that ravaged the valley of the Padus, and was present at the battle of Ticinus (**45**), and captured the 6000 Romans who had fought their way out of the defile by Lake Trasimene. He was in command of the right wing at Cannae, and after the battle begged to be allowed to push on to Rome at once, promising that Hannibal should within five days sup in the Capitol.

Massĭlia, -ae, f.: a very ancient Greek colony from Phocea in Ionia, dating from about 600 B.C.; now Marseilles, on the coast of France,

east of the outfall of the Rhone. It formed an alliance with Rome (**20**), kept the Romans informed of Hannibal's movements, and provided Scipio with guides (**26**).

Mauri, **-orum**, m.: the Moors, inhabitants of Mauretania (Morocco), between Numidia and the Atlantic. They occupied all the north-west coast of Africa, and furnished a contingent to Hannibal's forces (**22**).

Maxĭmus, **-i**, m.: Q. Fabius Maximus, one of the envoys to Carthage in 219 B.C. (**18**). In 217 B.C. he was made dictator, and from his refusing to fight a pitched battle, but incessantly harassing Hannibal, he got the name *Cunctator*, or "the Lingerer." His tactics saved Rome. He was five times consul.

Messāna, **-ae**, f.: now Messina, on the Sicilian coast of the strait of the same name. It was a Greek colony, and was seized by some Campanian mercenaries (Mamertines), against whom Hiero of Syracuse made war. They appealed to Carthage for help, and also to Rome; and these two Powers thus began the First Punic War. See Introduction, § iii.

Mutĭna, **-ae**, f.: Modena, a chief town of the Gallic tribes south of the Padus, probably conquered by Rome in the Boïan war, 225-222 B.C. It served as a shelter to the colonists of Placentia when attacked by the rebellious Boii, 218 B.C. (**25**).

N.

Numĭdae, **-arum**, m.: the Numidians, inhabitants of Numidia (Algeria). They were subjects of Carthage, and provided an admirable light cavalry, to whom were due the victories at the Ticinus (**46**) and the Trebia (**53, 54**). They rode without saddle or bridle.

O.

Olcădes, **-um**, m.: a small tribe to the south-west of Saguntum, reduced by Hannibal (**5**) in 221 B.C.

Oretāni, **-orum**, m.: a powerful tribe of Hispania Tarraconensis, who joined the Carpetani in an attempted rising during the siege of Saguntum, but were at once crushed (**11**).

P.

Pădus, **-i**, m.: also called the Eridănus, now the Po, the largest river of Italy, flowing from west to east across the whole of the plain of Cisalpine Gaul. The stream is very violent, and gives rise to inundations; hence it was for some time regarded as a frontier by the Romans, who planted on its banks the colonies of Cremona and Placentia. The Ticinus and the Trebia are amongst its tributaries.

Paulus, **-i**, m.: Lucius Aemilius Paulus, one of the envoys to Carthage in 219 B.C. (**18**). He was commander in the Illyrian War

(see Introduction, § v.), and was consul at the battle of Cannae, where he fell, 215 B.C.

Picēnum, -i, n.: the part of Italy between the Adriatic and the Apennines, north-east of Rome, bounded on the north by Umbria and on the south by Samnium (**62**).

Pīsae, -arum, f. pl.: Pisa in Etruria, near the mouth of the Arnus (Arno). Here P. Scipio landed to march upon the Padus, after missing Hannibal on the Rhone (**39**).

Placentia, -ae, f.: on the Padus, a little east of the confluence of the Trebia. Colonised in 219 B.C., it was the cause of the Boïan revolt, when the colonists were driven to Mutina (**25**).

Poenīnus Mons: the Pennine Alps, by the Great St. Bernard.

Poenus, -a, -um: Carthaginian. Also as a substantive, **Poenus, -i**, m., a Carthaginian.

Pŏlȳbius, -i, m.: a Greek historian whose work included an account of the Second Punic War. He was one of the 1000 Achaeans brought to Italy in 167 B.C., where he enjoyed the patronage and friendship of the younger Scipio. He returned to Greece in 151 B.C., but was present at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C., when he hurried back to Greece to obtain favourable terms for his countrymen after the capture of Corinth. He died in 122 B.C.

Pyrenaei Montes: the Pyrenees Mountains, dividing France from Spain.

R.

Rhŏdănus, -i, m.: the Rhone. It rises among the Lepontine Alps, west of the St. Gothard, and flows through the Lake of Geneva southward into the Gulf of Lyons, after a course of 500 miles. Its main tributaries are the Arar (Saône), which joins it at Lyons; the Isara (Isère), at Valence; and the Druentia (Durance), near its mouth. Hannibal crossed the river at Orange, between the Druentia and the Isara; the Volcae, who tried to bar the passage, being taken in the rear by Hanno, and the passage thus forced (**27, 28**). P. Scipio arrived too late to block the way, and after following Hannibal as far as the point of crossing he returned to Italy.

Rŭtŭli, -orum, m.: the people of Turnus, the antagonist of Aeneas in Vergil's *Aeneid*. See *s.v.* Ardea.

S.

Săguntum, -i, n.: now Murviedro in Valentia; it stood on the coast, due west of Majorca. It was made a neutral city by the treaty of Rome with Hasdrubal, 228 B.C. Attacked by Hannibal in 219 B.C. (**6**), on the plea of some insults offered by it to the Turdetani (*q.v.*), it sent envoys asking the Romans for help. A Roman embassy was dispatched to warn Hannibal to desist, but he declined to receive it, and took the town by storm, after a siege of eight months, at the end

of the same year. This event was the direct cause of the Second Punic War (**7-15**).

Salassi, -orum, m.: a tribe of robbers, half Celtic, half Ligurian, about the upper waters of the Padus, between the Graian and Pennine Alps, in the modern Val d'Aosta. The pass called *Cremonis iugum* debouched amongst them (**38**).

Sardĭnia, -ae, f.: the modern island of the same name in the Mediterranean, between Sicily and Corsica. Being rich in minerals it was early occupied by Phoenicians and Carthaginians, and was garrisoned during the First Punic War by mercenary troops. These revolted at the end of the war; and, being defeated, offered themselves and the island to Rome. The latter at once took possession of it, 288 B.C., and the Carthaginians were then too weak to resist. The island was formed into a province governed by a praetor, but was not finally subdued for some years (**1**).

Scīpio, -ōnis, m.: (1). P. Cornelius Scipio, consul 218 B.C. Spain was awarded him as his province, and he sailed thither in the middle of the year, hoping to prevent Hannibal's passage of the Rhone. He landed at Massilia, but did not start on his march up the river until Hannibal had already made three days' advance. A body of his cavalry, however, met and defeated an equal number of Hannibal's horse. Being unable to overtake Hannibal, Scipio sent on his brother Gnaeus with most of the troops to Spain, to hold Hasdrubal in check. He himself returned to Italy, landing at Pisae, and taking over the troops commanded by the praetors Vulso and Serranus (**39**). Advancing to the Ticinus, on the north side of the Padus, he there met Hannibal for the first time. The Numidian cavalry won the day, and the consul retreated to the south side of the Padus, to wait at Placentia for the arrival of Sempronius. In the battle of the Ticinus his life was saved either by his son or by a Ligurian (**46**). On the advent of Sempronius, the two armies gave battle at the river Trebia, and were utterly defeated (**56**). The next year Scipio joined his brother in Spain, where the two maintained the war until both fell within a few weeks in the year 212 B.C.

(2) Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus, brother of the preceding, acted as his *legatus* in Spain, 218 B.C. He captured the Carthaginian camp at Cissis (**60**), and made Roman influence paramount again between the Pyrenees and the Hiberus. He also retook Saguntum, and defeated a fleet off the mouth of the Hiberus. Being joined by his brother in 217 B.C., the two kept Hasdrubal engaged until 212 B.C., when both fell in battle. Livy's account of these campaigns is probably much overdrawn, and it is more likely that the Romans barely maintained their footing in Spain.

(3) P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, the son of (1), saved his father's life at the battle of the Ticinus. He was then seventeen years old. At twenty-five he went out to Spain, where he carried all before him. In 202 B.C. he ended the war, and won his surname of Africanus, by crossing into Africa and defeating the last army of the Carthaginians at Zama.

Sedūni, -orum, m.: a small tribe on the north side of the Pennine Alps, about the Lake of Geneva, near the modern Sion (**38**).

Sēmi-Galli, -orum: an epithet of the Taurini (**38**), who were a mixed tribe of Ligurians and Gauls.

Sempronius: -i, m.: *s.v.* Longus.

Sicĭlia, -ae, f.: after Sardinia, the largest island in the Mediterranean. It was early occupied by Italian tribes, by the Carthaginians, and later again by the Greeks, who founded there the city of Syracuse in 734 B.C. It was the principal scene of the First Punic War, and at the end of that war was surrendered to Rome, 241 B.C., and became the first Roman, province governed by an annually appointed praetor. Its fertility made it the granary of Rome, and the most valuable land in her possession.

Syrācūsae, -arum, f.: the largest city of Sicily, on the east coast, between Catana on the north and Cape Pachynus on the south. In time of First Punic War, Hiero II. was its king, and his attack on the Mamertines of Messana led to the outbreak of the war. Afterwards he joined the Romans. He died 216 B.C., and a year later, after the death of his grandson, who allied himself with Carthage, a republican government was established. The town was besieged by Marcellus for two years, 214-212 B.C., and finally taken.

T.

Tăgus, -i, m.: the Tagus rises in the Celtiberian highlands, and flowing west-south-west, falls into the Atlantic at Lisbon. On its banks Hannibal defeated a coalition of the Vaccaei, Olcades, and Carpetani 220 B.C. (**5**).

Tărentum, -i, n.: a famous Greek colony from Sparta, on the gulf of the same name in south Italy, now Taranto. It was suspected of having aroused the Samnites and Lucanians to war against Rome. and was besieged and captured in 272 B.C. Livy supposes that the Tarentine waters had been made inaccessible to Carthaginian vessels by a treaty of 279 B.C., but this Polybius declares to be false. At any rate the appearance of a Punic fleet there in 272 B.C. aroused Rome's jealousy, and was employed as an excuse for commencing the First Punic War (**10**). See also Introduction, § iii.

Tarrăco, -ōnis, f.: a populous commercial city of Spain, about fifty miles north of the mouth of the Hiberus (Ebro). It was fortified by Scipio against Hasdrubal (**61**); and in its neighbourhood the latter surprised a few Roman troops (*ibid.*), 218 B.C.

Taurīni, -orum, m.: a Gallic tribe in the north-west corner of Transpadane Gaul, into whose territories Hannibal descended from the Alps, according to Livy (**38**). He found them at war with the Insubrians; and, siding with the latter, he sacked the chief town of the Taurini, Turin, 218 B.C.

Tĭbĕris, -is, m.: the Tiber, upon which stood Rome. Rising in the Apennines near Tifernum, it flows south-west into the Mare Etruscum, forming the boundary between Latium and Etruria. Its course is

225 miles; it tributaries, the Nar, Velinus, Anio, Clanis, Allia, and Cremera; and its estuary port, Ostia.

Tīcīnus, -i, m.: the Ticino, a tributary of the Padus, which it joins near Clastidium, some distance west of Placentia. It rises in the Alps of St. Gothard, and flows through the Lago Maggiore. On its west bank Scipio engaged with the Numidians in a cavalry skirmish, and was driven across the river 218 B.C. (**46**). This was really the first encounter in the Second Punic War.

Trebia, -ae, m.: now the Trebbia, a small tributary of the Padus, which it joins two miles to the west of Placentia. Here Sempronius was defeated by Hannibal, 218 B.C. (**54-56**).

Turdetāni, -orum, m.: the most powerful and cultivated people of southern Spain, occupying the coast between Gibraltar and Cape St. Vincent. Hannibal sided with them in a quarrel against the Saguntines, and so got an excuse for attacking the latter people. This is Livy's version, who says also that the Turdetani were neighbours of the Saguntines (**6**), which is impossible. Either the text is wrong, or there was another tribe of the same name on the east coast near Saguntum.

V.

Vaccaei, -orum, m.: a Spanish tribe reduced by Hannibal, 220 B.C. They occupied the country about Salamanca and Valladolid.

Verăgri, -orum, m.: an Alpine tribe on the south slope of the Great St. Bernard Pass.

Victŭmŭlae, -arum, f. pl.: the name of two small places in the neighbourhood of Placentia. One was an Insubrian village, where Hannibal encamped, on the north bank of the Padus (**45**); the other, a corn depôt of the Romans on the south bank of the Padus, sacked and destroyed by Hannibal on its surrender in 218 B.C. (**57**).

Volcae, -arum, m.: a Gallic tribe occupying both banks of the lower Rhone. On Hannibal's approach they mostly withdrew to the east bank, and there opposed his crossing, but were dispersed by Hanno, who crossed higher up and took them in the rear (**26-28**).

Volcāni Insŭla, -ae, f.: now Volcano, one of the volcanic islands to the north of Sicily, where were wrecked some Carthaginian vessels in 218 B.C. (**49**).

A complete Catalogue of Text-Books published by the University Tutorial Press, and separate Sectional Catalogues in English Language and Literature, French, Mathematics, and Science, may be had on application to the Publisher.

SELECTED CLASS-BOOKS

IN

LATIN AND GREEK

PUBLISHED BY THE

University Tutorial Press Ld.

HIGH ST., NEW OXFORD ST., W.C. 2.

Latin.

Tutorial Latin Grammar. By B. J. HAYES, M.A., Gold Medallist in Classics, and W. F. MASOM, M.A., late Professor of Classics at University College, Southampton. *Fourth Edition.* 5s.

The object of this grammar is to impart a sound general knowledge of Latin of the classical period, without encumbering the reader with a number of isolated forms and usages.

Exercises and Test Questions on the Tutorial Latin Grammar. By F. L. D. RICHARDSON, B.A., and A. E. W. HAZEL, LL.D., M.A., B.C.L. 2s.

Matriculation Latin Course. By B. J. HAYES, M.A., and A. J. F. COLLINS, M.A. **5s.**

A graduated Course in Latin Grammar and Composition for upper forms of schools, consisting of 48 Lessons covering a year's work.

Senior Latin Course. By A. J. F. COLLINS, M.A., and ALFRED ROBINSON, B.A., Classical Master, Wolverhampton Grammar School. **4s. 6d.**

This book contains a graduated course of Latin grammar and composition divided into forty-eight lessons, roughly covering a year's work. This is followed by a tabular accidence and syntax and a collection of passages for translation into continuous Latin prose, graduated in order of difficulty.

New Junior Latin Course. By J. V. THOMPSON, M.A., late Senior Classical Master, Strand School, and Ll. M. PENN, M.A., Classical Master, Beckenham County School. **5s.**

A two years' course in which accidence and syntax are correlated from the beginning, and the reading of continuous passages of Latin is made the basis of the teaching. There are oral exercises on each passage.

Junior Latin Course. By B. J. HAYES, M.A. *Second Edition.* **4s.**

Slightly below the standard of the preceding book.

Latin Composition. With copious EXERCISES, including easy continuous Passages and Vocabulary to each Exercise. By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A., and J. H. HAYDON, M.A. *Sixth Edition, Enlarged.* **3s. 6d.**

This book, together with the Exercises and easy continuous Passages, is intended to serve as a guide to the writing of Latin for examinations of the standard of University Entrance Examinations.

Higher Latin Composition. BY A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A., and A. J. F. COLLINS, M.A. **5s.**

This book assumes a knowledge not only of accidence, but also of the main rules of syntax and a fair vocabulary—in other words, the knowledge of Latin which is usually required at University entrance examinations. From this standard it leads the learner on to a point beyond which the writing of Latin prose is carried only in the case of Honours students.

New Junior Latin Reader. By A. J. Tate, M.A., Headmaster, King's School, Grantham. 3s. 6d.

Intended either for general use or as a supplement to the *New Junior Latin Course.* "Snippets" are avoided; there is an oral exercise on each extract, and notes are supplied on subject-matter. There is also a full alphabetical vocabulary.

Matriculation Latin Construing Book. By A. F. Watt, M.A., and B. J. Hayes, M.A. 3s.

A guide to the construing of the Latin period, and its translation into English. The book contains a complete vocabulary.

Matriculation Selections from Latin Authors. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. Edited by A. F. Watt, M.A., and B. J. Hayes, M.A. *Fourth Edition.* 4s.

This book is designed not only to provide practice in reading Latin with a view to translation at sight, but also to give the beginner some acquaintance with Latin literature as such.

Selections from Latin Authors (Senior Edition). By A. F. Watt, M.A., and B. J. Hayes, M.A. 4s.

Being *Matriculation Selections from Latin Authors* with an Appendix of Test passages suitable for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination.

Advanced Latin Unseens. Being a Higher Latin Reader. By H. J. Maidment, M.A., and T. R. Mills, M.A. *Second Edition, Enlarged.* 5s.

"It is one of the best volumes of the kind that we have seen. We congratulate the editors."—*School Guardian.*

The Tutorial Latin Dictionary. By F. G. Plaistowe, M.A., Gold Medallist in Classics, late Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge. *Second Edition.* 6s. 6d.

"A valuable work, which every Latin student should possess."—*Secondary Education.*

Greek.

Advanced Greek Unseens. Being a Higher Greek Reader. With the Passages set at the London B.A. Examination. *Second Edition, Enlarged.* 5s.

Editions of Latin Classics.

These editions are, as a rule, arranged on the following plan :—

The text is preceded by a short Introduction discussing the author and the book in question, and is followed by explanatory notes dealing with both language and subject matter and (where required) by an Index of Proper Names; in the case of books marked with an asterisk (*) there is also a complete alphabetical lexicon. All are strongly bound in cloth boards. The following is a list of the volumes most often used in schools.

CAESAR—	s.	d.
Civil War, Book 1 ...	2	0
Civil War, Book 3 ...	3	0
Gallic War, Books 1-7 (each)	*2	0
Gallic War, Book 1, Ch. 1-29	1	6
Gallic War, Books 4, 5	*3	6
The Invasion of Britain	2	0

CICERO—	s.	d.
De Amicitia	*2	0
De Officiis, Book 3 ...	3	0
De Senectute	*2	0
In Catilinam I.-IV. ...	3	0
Philippic II.	3	6
Pro Archia	2	0
Pro Cluentio	4	6
Pro Lege Manilia ...	3	0
Pro Marcello	2	0
Pro Milone	3	0
Pro Plancio	4	6
Pro Roscio Amerino ...	3	6
Somnium Scipionis ...	2	6

HORACE—	s.	d.
Epistles...	4	6
Epodes	2	0
Odes, Books 1-4 ...	*4	6
Separately, each Book	*2	0
Satires	4	6

LIVY—	s.	d.
Books 1, 5 ... (each)	3	6
Book 2, Ch. 1-50 ...	3	6
Books 3, 6, 9 (each)	4	6
Book 21...	3	6
Book 22...	3	6

OVID—	s.	d.
Metamorphoses, Books 1 and 2, 1-400 ; 8...	3	6
Books 13, 14 (each)...	2	0
Tristia, Books 1, 3 (each)	2	0

SALLUST—	s.	d.
Catiline...	2	0

TACITUS—	s.	d.
Agricola	2	6
Annals, Book 1 ...	3	6
Annals, Book 2 ...	3	6
Germania	2	6
Histories, Book 1 ...	3	6
Book 3 ...	4	0

TERENCE—	s.	d.
Adelphi...	3	0

VERGIL—	s.	d.
Aeneid, Books 1-12 (each)	*2	0
Eclogues	3	6
Georgics, 1-4	3	6
,, 2	1	6
,, 1-2	2	0
,, 3-4	2	0

Complete list of University Tutorial Press editions of Latin and Greek Classics, giving particulars of Vocabularies, Translations, etc., post free on application.

LL
L7888A1B
Livy
Book XXI; ed. by Allcroft and Masom.
227176

University of Toronto
Library

DO NOT
REMOVE
THE
CARD
FROM
THIS
POCKET

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File"
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU